

MISCELLANEOUS  
STATE PAPERS.

From 1501 to 1726.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

VETUSTIS NOVITATEM DARE, NOVIS AUCTORITATEM,  
OBSOLETIS NITOREM, OBSCURIS LUCEM, DUBIIS FIDEM, &c.  
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# C O N T E N T S

## O F T H E

### S E C O N D V O L U M E.

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*Letters of King Charles I. Lord Carlisle, and Secretary  
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# E R R A T A.

Most of which are Mistakes of the Transcriber of the Original MSS.

- Page 22. line 6. *for* *Somer*, *read* *Summer*.  
 58. 15. *for* *these with*, *read* *with these*.  
 98. 18. *for* *in what*, *read* *what in*.  
 129. 1. *for* *in true policy*, *read* *true policy*.  
 240. 1. *delete* semicolon.  
 244. 15. *for* *treaty was brought*, *read* *bought*.  
 314. note *for* *notice*, *read* *notion*.  
 332. ditto *for* 1708, *read* 1707.  
 460. line 19. *for* *Hodges*, *read* *Hedges*.  
 483. 4. *for* *ve*, *read* *give*.  
 493 and 503. *for* *Cape Roy*, *read* *Cape Raye*.  
 493. *for* *Petit Port*, *read* *Pent Nord*.  
 505. *for* *Cape de la Hau*, *read* *C. de la Hune*.  
 505. *for* *Petit Nord*, *read* *Pent Nord*.  
 529. line 25. *for* *Tuesday*, *read* *Thursday*.

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MISCELLANEOUS  
STATE PAPERS,  
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No. I.

*Letters of King Charles I. Lord Carlisle, and Secretary  
Conway, to the Duke of Buckingham.*

From the  
Harleian  
Collection.

[Buckingham was as powerful a favourite with his new master, as he had been with the old one. In these private letters, the confidence between them is unreserved; but Charles writes in a style of composition very superior to his father, and it is chiefly to mark that difference, that these letters are thought worth preserving. It seems evident from the domestic feuds between the King and Queen, that the latter did not gain an ascendant over her husband, till after the death of Villiers.

The letters from Lord Carlisle and Secretary Conway shew the exact accounts which were sent the Duke, during his absence from Court, of every minute incident, whether he was immediately concerned in it or not; and the respectful, not to say servile, manner of addressing him is very remarkable, and peculiar to the degree of favour and influence in which he lived with his Sovereign, and of which we have not seen an example since.]

VOL. II.

B

King

CHARLES

I.

1625.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

STEENIE,

Nov. 20.

I WRIT to you by Ned Clarke, that I thought I would have cause enough in a short time to put away the Monsieurs, either by attempting to steal away my wife, or by making plots with my own subjects. For the first, I cannot say certainly whether it was intended, but I am sure it is hindered. For the other, though I have good grounds to believe it, I am still hunting after it; yet seeing daily the maliciousness of the Monsieurs, by making and fomenting discontentments in my wife, I could tarry no longer from advertising of you, that I mean to seek for no other grounds to cashier my Monsieurs, having for this purpose sent you this other letter, that you may, if you think good, advertise the Queen Mother with my intention; for this being an action that may have a show of harshness, I thought it was fit to take this way, that she to whom I have had many obligations, may not take it unkindly; and likewise I think I have done you no wrong in my letter, though in some place of it, I may seem to chide you. I pray you send me word, with what speed you may, whether you like this course or not, for I shall put nothing of this in execution, till I hear from you. In the meantime, I shall think of the convenient means to do this business with the best mien, but I am resolved it must be done, and that shortly. So longing to see thee, I rest

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

Hampton Court,  
the 20th of Nov. 1625.

CHARLES R.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

CHARLES

I.

1625.

STEENIE,

YOU know what patience I have had with the unkind usages of my wife, grounded upon a belief that it was not in her nature, but made by ill instruments, and overcome by your persuasions to me, that my kind usages would be able to rectify those misunderstandings. I hope my ground may be true, but I am sure you have erred in your opinion; for I find daily worse and worse effects of ill offices done between us, my kind usages having no power to mend any thing. Now necessity urges me to vent myself to you in this particular, for grief is ease being told to a friend; and because I have many obligations to my mother-in-law (knowing that these courses of my wife's are so much against her knowledge, that they are contrary to her advice), I would do nothing concerning her daughter that may taste of any harshness, without advertising her of the reasons and necessity of the thing; therefore I have chosen you for this purpose, because you having been one of the chief causes that hath withheld me from these courses hitherto, you may well be one of my chief witnesses, that I have been forced into these courses now. You must therefore advertise my mother-in-law, that I must remove all those instruments that are causes of unkindness between her daughter and me, few or none of the servants being free of this fault in one kind or other; therefore I would be glad that she might find a means to make themselves suitors to be gone: if this be not, I hope there can be no exceptions taken at me, to follow the example of Spain and Savoy in this particular. So requiring a speedy answer of thee in this business (for the longer it is delayed, the worse it will grow), I rest,

Nov. 20.

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

Hampton Court,  
20th of Nov. 1625.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES

I.

1625.

*Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Nov. 20.

My most noble dear Lord,

SINCE my last to your Lordship by Mr. Endymion Porter, there hath not happened any matter of great moment or alteration here, saving the resolution which his Majesty hath taken, by the advice of his Council, for the disarming of all the Popish Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord Vaux his house in Northamptonshire, wherein there were some blows exchanged between the said Lord and Mr. Knightly, a justice of the peace, who assisted the Deputy Lieutenant in that action, whereof complaint being made, his Majesty was pleased himself in Council, to have the hearing of the business, and upon examination to refer the judgment thereof to the Star Chamber, the next term; but at the issuing out of the Council Chamber, the Lord Vaux taking occasion to speak to Sir William Spencer, who with the rest had given information in favour of Mr. Knightly, told him, that though he neglected his reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not but he would have more care of his oath, when the business should come to examination in the Star Chamber. Herewith Sir William Spencer finding his reputation challenged, presently complained, and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord Vaux was committed prisoner to the Fleet.

In the disarming of the Lords Recusants, there was as much respect had of some who have relation \* to your Lordship as you yourself would desire.

The Papists in general here do give some cause of jealousy, by their combinations and murmurings, wherein it is suspected, that they are as fondly as busily encouraged by the pragmatical Monsieurs;

\* The Duke's father-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, was a Papist.

but

# STATE PAPERS.

5

but his Majesty's temper and wisdom will be sufficient to prevent all inconvenience which their force or passion may contrive. There is one Sir Thomas Gerard a recusant, brought up hither out of Lancashire, being accused of some treacherous design against his Majesty's person.

CHARLES  
I.  
1625.

Rochelle is so straitly blocked up by sea and land, as no intelligence can be sent into the town.

We have not as yet any clear categorical answer touching the restitution of our ships. As soon as any thing more worthy of your Lordship's knowledge shall occur, you shall not fail to be advertised from him that is eternally vowed

Your Grace's, &c.

From Hampton Court,  
the 20th of November, 1625.

CARLISLE.

---

*Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Gracious Patron,

THE care is nothing now so great to write to you, as to hear from you. The return of the Charles, wherein Mr. Johnson the engineer was, hath spread a rumour of a great storm you met withal, which cast you into so many difficulties, and so far to the northward, as they could not conceive your Grace could recover Flushing or the Brill in eight days after they left you. But besides that my affection, and your Grace's good fortune, can never consent that such a disorder as seldom or never befel any man in that passage, should happen to you, I find in the very relation that the great leak the Charles had, the want of a pilot, and the ignorance of all the mariners, none of them having been so far northward before, put them

Nov. 30-

but



CHARLES

1625.

them into such an amazement, as they kept no reckoning with the winds, nor did they consider what way a strong ship, and bold upon the wind, can make; remembered their own distress, saw themselves by chance upon the coast of England, and spake fearfully and doubtfully of your landing.

We have heard from Calais that your Grace landed at Flushing the Tuesday following your going aboard. I was sorry to think the sickness was so much there, and that you should have a tedious broken passage to Holland. But I am comforted with this, that the same God keeps you at land and at sea.

The French Ambassador \* here with us, knows not which way to turn himself, to find contentment; he would fain have it believed, that he hath power to accord much for the public good, if it were sought from him. He hath given an answer to the overture made by De Vic, in his Majesty's name to the French King, but not satisfactory. He pursues his demand of the St. John, and some other things, which your Grace will best see by the note inclosed. He seems to assume, that his Majesty shall not be refused in any thing he will propound to the French King concerning the Valtoline, Italy, or any public enterprize. He makes himself afraid lest your Grace may fail of those acceptances of your person, honours, and receptions, which you may look for, besides the dignity of your condition as Ambassador. And withal doubts, lest you, missing of those easy passages, and good successes in your business which you expect, may return offended, which he should be very sorry for; acknowledging the great powers and abilities which are in you, which worthily give you interest and power with your Master and the State. And now I have translated to you the words as near as I can, you may be pleased to make the construction by your own wisdom. The Ambassador gives much trouble to the household here. He hath pro-

\* Blainville, a Boutefeu, and violent Minister.

cured

CHARLES

I.

1625.

cured from his Majesty a lodging in this house, and so his diet comes to be divided here for himself, and at Kingston for his company; so as increase of several new demands come in, for wood, and coals, and twenty other things; and so for Madam St. George, the Bishop, and that train, which makes the white staves to scratch where it itcheth not. It must come to be examined by commission; if I am one, I will never give my consent to additions.

His Majesty hath written to the Duke de Chevreuse roundly, as you will see by the copy of the letter herewith sent. His Majesty's pleasure is, that you let the Duke know, that he doubts not his good affection, nor his good offices, but writes in that manner to give him warrant, as well as occasion, to press the French King the more earnestly.

Order is gone out for disarming the noblemen recusants. The list of their names I send your Grace herewith; as also a list of their names, which by extraordinary recommendation were pricked for sheriffs; and this puts me in mind to give you another account. The Deputy Lieutenants of Northamptonshire, being Sir William Spencer, Sir Hatton Farmer, Sir Thomas Cave, Mr. Knightly, and Mr. Elwes, went to the house of Mrs. Vaux, to search for martial munition, found my Lord Vaux there, and civilly acquainted him and Mrs. Vaux, his mother, with the purpose of their coming. They respectfully consented to the search, which was performed orderly, and no arms found. But in conclusion, a brother of the Lord Vaux (amongst other intemperate and unadvised terms) said, that they gave to the recusants the worst usage they could, except they should cut their throats, and with divers oaths wished it were come to that day. Mr. Knightly replied to him, there were divers statutes against the recusants, which they were not troubled withal; which the other denying with great oaths, Mr. Knightly alledged the statute of the 20<sup>l</sup>. monthly for recusants. And further told him, there was a late statute against swearing, which put a penalty

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of twelve-pence upon every oath, and told him he must exact that from him; to which Mr. Vaux gave an answer, with ill and scornful words. And Mr. Knightly addressed himself to Mrs. Vaux and the Lord Vaux, to make satisfaction for Mr. Vaux's oaths. They refused it, and Mr. Knightly charged a constable to distrain so much of Mr. Vaux's goods as would satisfy three shillings, and give that to the poor, according to the statute. The Lord Vaux upon this took Mr. Knightly aside, and told him, if he found him in another place, he would call him to a reckoning for this. To which Mr. Knightly replied, You know where I dwell, and when you have a mind to call me to account, you shall receive an answer from me, full to your demand. Sir William Spencer and my Lord Vaux went into the hall, Mr. Knightly and the rest followed. My Lord Vaux turned towards Mr. Knightly, and putting his hand on his shoulder, pushed him, and said, No you have done your office, you may be gone; Mr. Knightly turning again to him, told him he had not done, he might search more; and when he had done his office, he would more willingly be gone than he would have him. The Lord Vaux gave him a good blow on the face, and they, scuffling together, were parted. But the Lord Vaux taking a cudgel out of another's hand, struck Mr. Knightly's man, broke his head, and knocked him down. And so the rest of the Deputy Lieutenants, fearing further inconveniency, withdrew themselves, wrote up their complaint, which was heard before the King and Council; and there wanted not those that favoured the Lord Vaux's cause, and magnified much his natural and accustomed modesty and discretion; whereof he gave a very ill argument, giving very intemperate words at the Council chamber door, unto Sir William Spencer, upon an occasion that passed before the King. The Lord Vaux was committed prisoner to the warden of the Fleet at Reading, and the cause remitted to the Star-Chamber. And but now I come to the cause that hath brought the affliction of this narration upon you: This day of hearing,

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ing, was the day the sheriffs were pricked; and Mr. Knightly was one of those extraordinarily recommended, being none in the Judges bill, and never man was more perplexed, arguing that all the world would think, it was a punishment laid upon him for my Lord Vaux. But when he saw the rest of his company, then he was like to have lost his sense. He protested the continual and sole dependence he had upon your Grace, and declared his speeches, and the endeavours he had used in the parliament, for the service of the king, and honour of you.

I enquired of Sir John Cooke, and others, of him, who all justified his good behaviour; but he continues in the school of patience, and seems to promise himself that your Grace will justify him, and repair him with the King, and all the world, when you return.

Sir John Cooke, whose discreet diligence and care make him best understand all that concerns the shipping and the prizes, and all things else worthy of your knowledge, will give you an account; and to that purpose, I direct this messenger to pass by him, and do confess, that the narration of this brabble hath taken up my time and my paper, and, I am afraid, put by some things that had been more proper for me to have said; and which is worse, I am afraid they will abuse your time in the reading. But I beseech you pardon me, the rather for the punishment I lay upon myself; although the error rise from a desire to tell you all, and to serve you continually, and in all things, and that with faith and duty, and in the condition of,

Your Grace's, &c.

Hampton Court,  
30th of November, 1625.

EDWARD CONWAY.

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CHARLES

I.

1635.

*Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Gracious Patron,

Dec. 16.

THE contentment I had to see you was so short (the most just cause drawing you from Court), as I long to hear how you do, and how well you enjoy the greatest happiness of restoring comfort to the best wife and best of women, and taking to yourself the great blessing of blessed children, and then to repeat to you my daily morning prayer. The Lord of heaven increase you in those comforts, and increase in yourselves, and derive them from you, to your posterity infinite ages. And this humble duty of mine, is the first cause of sending this messenger my servant. Withal I take the boldness to address this letter directed to your Grace out of France, and that sent to me with it, upon which you will find two notes of his Majesty's upon the margin; and his notes I would communicate to none living but your Grace, how slight soever they should be, without his leave or commandment.

I have prepared instructions for Sir Edward Barrett; so soon as they are legibly written, I will send them to be approved, or reformed by your Grace.

By a copy herewith sent, your Grace will see what directions his Majesty hath given, and to whom, concerning his coronation.

There hath not been any thing of importance debated since your going from Hampton Court, saving whether letters should be written to the Lords, to lend money by way of Privy Seal, which was usually after the loan of the inferior ranks. And it is referred to be decided by the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

His Majesty's pleasure is, that letters should presently go forth to every Earl and Bishop for 200 l. and to every Baron for 100 l. because

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all things are at a stand for want of money. The Ambassadors press earnestly to have liberty for the ships under the arrest of prize. The Judge of the Admiralty wants proofs yet, to make them prize. The danger is, if the Ambassadors have not contentment, they will make stay of the goods in France, in the United Provinces, in Denmark, and in the Hans Towns; in all which places, are infinite more goods of the English, than in these prizes, and all the rest of theirs in the kingdom.

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1625.

The Judge of the Admiralty, Sir Dudley Carleton, and myself, by the directions of the Lords, went yesterday to the Dutch Ambassador's, and gave satisfaction to suspend him in patience, and some kind of contentment, until the Lords shall have resolved, both concerning the ships already arrested, and for a reglement for the future.

Sir John Cooke was sent for to have been here on Thursday, but excused himself, and desired me to excuse him; which I have done, until your Grace shall be present at the approving the reglement and debate concerning the increase of mariners pay.

God knows, I did not mean to have drawn on your Grace's trouble half so far; yet with the same and more zealous duty, I will give your Grace this sign, that nothing you will, passeth by me without due observation. I will remember to your Grace, you did wish that the questions between my sister Conway and me were ended. I hear she is now at Burleigh. In the humble acknowledgment I owe to you, if my sister do desire it, and that your Grace will vouchsafe to hear the state of the business between us, which may be contracted and prepared into short heads, I will be bound, in all I am worth, to submit to, and perform on my part, whatsoever your Grace shall order in it. And in all, through my whole life, show how much I esteem the honour to be,

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

Windsor Castle,  
the 16th of Dec. 1625.

CHARLES

I.

1626.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

STEENIE,

I HAVE hitherto deferred writing to you, both because I wanted subject, and I thought that you would be on your way towards me, before my letters could reach you. Now I send this bearer to you, as well to answer your letter concerning the Turkish Ambassador, as to intreat you not to stay upon uncertainty of winds, but come away, as soon as all the army is shipped, which I hope will be before this can come to you. Your journey to my sister, and France, requires daily more haste than other; for though my uncle \* of late has had good luck, yet he needs present encouragement, and Mansfelt † without instant help, dissolves to nothing. As for news, my wife begins to mend her manners; I know not how long it will continue, for they say it is by advice; but the best of all is, they say the Monsieurs desire to return home; I will not say this is certain, for you know, nothing that they say can be so. So hoping to see you shortly, I rest,

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

\* The King of Denmark.

† Mansfelt died in 1626. This circumstance fixes the place of this letter, which has no date.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

August 13.

I HAVE received the joyful news of your happy success in the taking of Ré, by Dick Greame. I pray God to give you as much contentment always, as I received then; and then, I assure you, ye will be in no danger to die of melancholy. Beecher likewise gave me two letters from you, out of which I have taken such notes as to know what you desire and want, then burned them. After these, ere yesternight, I have received another, all which, by this occasion, ye shall see some answer to, though I hope to please you better in my actions than my words. I have made ready a supply of victuals, munition, 400 men for recruits, and 14,000 pounds ready money, to be brought to you by Beecher, who, by the grace of God, shall set sail within these eight days. Two regiments, of a thousand men a-piece, victualled for three months, shall be embarked by the 10th of September. I have sent for as many officers from the Low Countries as may be had, of which, till my next, I can give you no perfect account. I hope likewise ye shall have 2000 men out of Scotland, under the command of my Lord Morton, and Sir William Balgour. So far for supplies, which, by the grace of God, I shall send speedily unto you, and you may certainly expect. Now I shall give you my opinion in some things that Beecher has been talking with me, and that I have understood by your late dispatch. And, first, in case the French King should die, what were to be done upon it. My opinion is (and not without advice in it) that you are to prosecute the war, and by no means to be the first motioner of treaty, for it is both dishonourable and unsafe, considering what men of faith the French of late have proved themselves; but if they should offer, then to hearken, but not to believe too hastily. And, to have it, this is the best way to gain our chief ends; certainly making



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making shows, or being indeed desirous of a treaty, before they of themselves demand it, may much hurt us, no way help us. I have seen a draught of a manifest which ye have sent my Lord Conway, which, if ye have not yet published, I would wish you to alter one point in it, that whereas ye seem to make the cause of religion the only reason that made me take arms, I would only have you declare it the chief cause, you having no need to name any other; so that you may leave those of the religion to think what they will: but I think it much inconvenient by a manifest, to be tied only to that cause, of this war; for cases may happen that may force me to go against my declaration (being penned so), which I should be loth should fall out. I have set three main projects a foot (besides many small), mint, increasing of the customs, by imposing on the book of rates, and raising of a Bank. The two first, I shall certainly go speedily through withal; the last is most difficult, but I have good hopes of it. So going to bed, and wishing thee as much happiness and good success as thy own heart can desire, I rest,

Your loving, &c.

Windfor,  
the 13th of August, 1627.

CHARLES R.

I cannot omit to tell you that my wife and I were never better together; she, upon this action of yours, showing herself so loving to me, by her discretion upon all occasions, that it makes us all wonder and esteem her.

CHARLES

I.

1627.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

**B**EETCHER staying longer at the sea side than I expected, has given me this occasion of writing to you, which I do, rather to assure you, that upon all occasions I am glad to remember you, and that no distance of place, nor length of time, can make me slacken, much less diminish my love to you, than that I have any business to advertise you of. I know too, that this is nothing, it being nothing but what you know already; yet imagining that we (like usurers) love sometimes to look on our riches, I think it is not unacceptable to you to bid you look of that that I esteem to be the greatest riches, and now hardest to be found, true friendship, there being no filer justlier to be given to any man, than that to me of being

August 25.

Your faithful, &amp;c.

Aldershot,  
25th of August, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

**H**AVING received a letter from you by this bearer, I cannot let him return empty; and indeed I should much condemn myself, if I did let any occasion slip, without remembering my love to you. At this time I have not much to say, but to congratulate with you for your escape from that treacherous blow \* which was meant you;

Sept. 2.

\* The treacherous blow which the king mentions to have been intended the Duke, was an assassination attempted by a French papist or Jesuit, with a thick three-edged knife. And a narrative thereof was published in a 4to pamphlet, as soon as the Duke came home, with a representation of the said knife in a wooden print.

for

CHARLES  
1627.

for which I give God greater thanks than for your victory, hoping to have oft cause of rejoicing for the one, no more for the other; and upon this occasion I pray you take my counsel, that for my sake, you will trust as little as may be any papistical French rascal. Your recommendation of Halie and Coningham came too late at this time, but ye may assure them, that I shall not fail to remember them with the first occasion. So praying for your good success in all things, and (with your wife) hoping and longing for your safe return, I rest,

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall,  
the 2d of Sept. 1627.

CHARLES, R.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

Sept. 20.

I HAVE received yours by this bearer Dalbier, whom I have dispatched as soon as was possible, and to whose relation I shall need to add little; for I think he deserves the character that you put on him, and I assure you, it rejoices me not a little, to hear him (being a stranger and a soldier) give so just a description of your inclination (which I know to be true); that making me believe the rest he says concerning your proficiency in the trade you have now so happily begun, which, though I never doubted, yet I am glad to see that truth forces all men to approve my judgment of you. Within a week after you have received this, I hope Holland shall deliver you another from me, therefore now I haste to end, only I must chide you (if it be true that I hear), that you hazard yourself too boldly: This I must command you to mend and take care of; there being more inconveniences in it than I (almost) dare write, or  
fit

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fit for you to hear, but it is enough, that you are willed to preserve  
yourself for his sake, that is and ever shall be

CHARLES

I.

1627.

Your loving, &c.

Theobalds,  
the 20th of Sept. 1627.

CHARLES, R.

This bearer will tell you that I approve all your designs; and be  
confident of what succours these froward times can yield, which,  
though they cannot be according to mind, yet, by God's grace, shall  
be enough for your fortune to maintain a just cause.

## *King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

I HAVE received your dispatch by Jack Ashburnham, by which  
I have understood the necessity in which ye are, and I am much  
grieved and ashamed, that I must make an apology for our slowness  
here in giving you supplies; the cause whereof is, the hardness of  
getting mariners, and the slow proceeding of the commissioners of  
the navy (which all commissioners are subject to) money being  
readilier furnished than I could have expected in these necessitous  
times; but for that our best answer is (as the school-boy says) pardon  
this, and we shall do so no more; and now, by the grace of God, ye  
shall have no more cause to complain of us, for now we know how  
to prevent those faults, which we, without some experience, could  
hardly foresee. Holland, within two or three days, will attend you  
with supplies, wherefore at this time I shall say little more, but con-  
cerning the instructions ye sent me for Ned Clarke, and Will.  
Haydon's place of the ordnance. For the first, the King of Den-  
mark's Ambassadors being here, for an accommodation between  
France and me, I have sent them away well enough satisfied, yet

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without discovering my intentions; so that I hope my uncle will be content with my proceedings with France; Ned Clarke likewise having instructions correspondent to the answer that was given the Denmark ambassadors; so that I think it needless, or rather hurtful, to discover my main intent in this business, because divulging of it (which this may cause) in my mind, must needs hazard it.

John Haydon has his brother's place already passed unto him, so that ye must excuse me, at this time, for Colonel Brett; yet because I see you have so great a care of him, I assure you that, at the next occasion, I shall remember him with as good a turn (though I did not know him, as I do, to be an honest sufficient man) if it were only because I see you esteem him. Lastly, for God's sake, be not disheartened with our by-past slowness, for, by the grace of God, it is all past. This I say not, that I fear thy constant stout heart can slack in an honest cause, but that some rascal may cast doubts in the army, as if I neglected you; which I imagine is likely enough to fall out, since some villains here stick not to divulge it. And it is possible that those who were the cause of your consultation of leaving the siege, and coming home (for the resisting of which I give thee a thousand thanks) may mutter such things. Now I pray God to prosper me but as I shall stick to thee in all occasions, and, in this action, as I shall show myself

Your loving, &c.

Hampton Court,  
1st of October, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

CHARLES

I.

1627.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

SINCE I have understood by Jack Ashburnham your necessities, for fault of timely supplies, I still stand in fear (until I shall hear from you) that these may come too late; but I hope that God is more merciful to me, than to inflict so great a punishment on me. Holland can tell you all occurrences here, which I may use for a good excuse of a short letter; but in case his gladness to see you (I judge him by myself) may make him forget some things, I will remember those I have most care of. The Denmark ambassadors, since their taking leave of me, having demanded a private audience, there moved unto me, to send you powers to treat with France, in case they could procure them to begin; their reason for this was, gaining of time, which, they said, otherwise must needs be lost: but my answer was, that it was no ways honourable for me to send powers to treat, before I knew France's disposition to treat, it being necessary for my honour, that they should begin, not I. After some dispute, they found my reasons good, they ending with this request (which I could not refuse, but was glad of), that they might advertise you from time to time of their proceedings with the French king. And to give them some contentment at their farewell, I told them, that in case they made a peace between me and France, the army that you command, should be ready to serve my uncle, if he desired it. Now, honest rascal, though I refused, being demanded, to send thee powers to treat, yet thou (knowing my well-grounded confidence of thee) may'st easily judge the warrant-dormant power thou hast in this, as in any thing else, where confidence may be placed on any man: but for fear that thy modesty in this particular might hinder thee to remember thy power of trust, which I have given thee, I thought not amiss to write as I have written.

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Gerbier's

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1627.

Gerbier's treaty is at an end, wherein he has showed both his honesty and sufficiency, but mightily abused by the King of Spain's ministers. So referring you to Holland, I rest (though not in quiet, until I shall see thee safe and happily returned)

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall,  
the 13th of October, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

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*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

November 6.

Steenie,

I PRAY God that this letter be useles, or never come to your hands, this being only to meet you at your landing in England, in case you should come from Ré, without perfecting your work, happily begun, but, I must confess, with grief, ill seconded. A letter you sent to Jack Epstie, is the cause of this, wherein ye have taught me patience, and how to seek the next best in misfortunes. This is therefore to give you power (in case ye should imagine that ye have not enough already) to put in execution any of those designs ye mentioned to Jack Epstie, or any other that you shall like of. So that I leave it freely to your will, whether after your landing in England, ye will set forth again to some design, before you come hither; or else that ye will first come to ask my advice, before ye undertake a new work; assuring you, that with whatsoever success ye shall come to me, ye shall be ever welcome, one of my greatest griefs being that I have not been with you in this time of suffering, for I know we would have much eased each other's griefs. I cannot stay longer on this subject, for fear of losing myself in it. To conclude, you cannot come so soon as ye are welcome; and, unfeignedly in my mind, ye have gained as much reputation, with wise and honest men, in this action, as if ye had performed all your desires.

fires. I have no more to say at this time, but conjure thee, for my  
 sake, to have a care of thy health, for every day I find new reasons  
 to confirm me in being

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 I.  
 1627.

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall,  
 the 6th of November, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

I HAVE written to you by Will Murray, and Montgomery, Feb. 23.  
 having sent them to Plymouth, thinking you would have landed  
 there; but understanding of your coming to Portsmouth, I have  
 sent Porter to assure you, our misfortune has been not to send  
 you supplies in time, that all honest men cannot but judge, that you  
 have done past expectation, and (if a man may say it) beyond possi-  
 bility. Your letter, and my Lord of Westmeath's relation, has much  
 comforted me (the first news of your retreat being far worse than I  
 thank God it is) but principally to see how nobly thou carriest it, an-  
 swering the rest of thy actions. As for your design upon Calais, I  
 much approve of it; let me but know what is necessary for it, and I  
 shall see it provided with all diligence; and for secrecy, I shall speak  
 of it to no living soul but to Jack Eplie, whom I have sent for.  
 So referring myself to the bearer, I rest

Your loving, &c.

Wednesday night.

CHARLES.

You cannot come before you are welcome, which I leave to you;  
 the sooner, I think, the better, at least best pleasing to me.



CHARLES

I.

1627.

*King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Steenie,

**T**HIS day I have received two letters from you, but much after the order of our times, for the first was last, which made me at first much blame the messenger, but when I saw it was a Lord, I readily excused his laziness, for you can make no Somer. As for answer to your letters; not differing with you in opinion (as I do but seldom) it is needless to make any.

I have sent you here inclosed a letter to my wife, in answer to one that Lodovic brought me, which was only a dry, ceremonious compliment, and answered accordingly; by which I see, that my last denial is not digested yet, which you would do well to find out (of yourself, without taking any notice of knowledge from me), to set her in tune against my returning to London; for if I shall find her reserved, froward, or not kind, at my return, we shall not agree; which I am sure cannot fall out between you and

Your loving, &amp;c.

Friday, 23d of February,  
1627.

CHARLES, R.

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## No. II.

*Isle of Rbé Expedition.*From the  
Paper Office.

[The disgraceful conduct of this expedition is exclaimed against by all our historians. These original papers throw additional lights upon it; but the Duke of Buckingham's personal gallantry is highly, and perhaps deservedly, extolled by his friends. It was a ridiculous vanity in him to affect the General, without the least experience in the military profession; and it was the height of indiscretion to engage his master in a quarrel with France, when he had one with Spain upon his hands which he could not manage.]

It was fortunate for Charles I. that, with such inauspicious openings of his reign, he got out of two unsuccessful wars with so little personal or national dishonour. The treaties were renewed with France and Spain, on equal terms, in 1629 and 1630. vide Preface to Carleton's Letters. The articles may be found in Rushworth, &c. It is true, that we had no share in making a peace for the Protestants, and that we gave up (what was certainly then of no consequence) Quebec, which had been taken by a privateering squadron, under a Huguenot commander, one Kirk.]

*Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.*

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

TO inform of particular occurrences, is, I know, the work of July 27.  
many, more curious, I confess, in those observations, than I have been; and it may be, more at leisure to make a relation of them. Mine are of another nature, and those not many, neither

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1627.

ther do these affairs afford great matter for observation. Our General (I speak it before God, and without flattery) behaves himself in all things with admiration, making those parts appear which lay hid before, for want of occasion to produce them. His care is infinite, his courage undaunted, his patience and continual labour beyond what could ever have been expected; his affableness, liberality, and courtesy, not more extolled by his own, than by his enemies themselves: himself views the ground, goes to the trenches, visits the batteries, observes where the shot doth light, and what effects it works upon the enemy; in a word, goes himself in person to places of the greatest danger, oftner than becomes a person of his rank; but whereunto (besides his own care and courage which carries him to it) he is partly constrained by the carelessness of some officers. If a soldier want a biscuit, or a workman a spade, it must come to his ears and pass by his order; not that he would have it so, but that the defects of others in their duties, make his care and providence extend even to the ordering and providing those petty things. His voice in councils he will have of no greater force than others; though his opinion is most commonly grounded upon better reasons, yet he refers it to the censure and approbation of the rest, with that submission which could never have been imagined. In a word, whether it be that he will be alone, and have no co-partner in authority, or whether it be the fault of those that by their long experience in the wars might have made themselves more considerable, and gotten a greater sway, I see none of extraordinary credit in the army, besides himself, and (I fear me) of sufficient reputation and credit (if any evil should happen to his person, which God forbid) to go on with our designs, or hardly to govern, and keep in duty, this small body.

Whilst I was at Rochelle, I understood of some unkindness, that had passed between him and Sir John Burgh, which, though I do not know for certain, yet the persons from whom I had it,

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fit, with some other reasons, make me suspect it. The party I confess is a brave, valiant gentleman, and one whom the Duke of Buckingham did much rely on, but who hath been observed to have been too rough with the Duke, even in indifferent matters, and wherein the precise observance of martial discipline was not so material; which I could have wished to have been otherwise; for such persons must be handled with tender hands. And I do not see, but at this time the Duke would not have borne with an indifferent usage. Besides, I do not see so much alacrity, nor so much care as at first on the one side, and on the other that advising with him, and calling for him, as heretofore; whereof the cause may be partly the place where we are in; the care, command, and authority of one of his condition, not appearing so much in a town, as in the field; but whether it be carelessness, discontent, or any other cause, certain it is, the effects are not answerable to our expectation. Of this disposition are some of our chief officers, whereof I can give no other reason, than their own dulness, fitter for a garrison town, or the keeping of a place already gotten, than to find out or prosecute (with requisite activeness) a design upon the enemy. The rest of the officers, for ought I can perceive, are brave, valiant gentlemen, and had they not shewed themselves to be so, it had gone hard with us at the landing, where, had not the valour of the captains, and other officers, the fear of drowning in most part of the soldiers (which made even Dameta to fight) and the courage of some few of them, with God's blessing, repelled the enemy, our design had by this time been at an end. Our chief want is of some able person about his Excellency, of the power, temper, and sufficiency of Mr. St. Blankard, a man in this action so necessary, as we may almost impute whatsoever hath been done amiss to the want of him. His Excellency's chief counsel in the martial part, Monsieur Dolbier, a man of great experience, but not of that strength of understanding, and other parts, as are necessary to those

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that

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that will have a power with his Excellency, who, had he but experience answerable to the rest, would need little counsel. Another want is of engineers, we having hardly amongst us one that can lay a battery, work in a mine, or make a trench.

Your Lordship will receive with his Excellency's dispatch, a declaration, for the making of which he was pleased to use my pen. Your Lordship may be pleased to excuse whatsoever you find amiss in it, and particularly the hand wherewith it is written, which I have been fain to make use of, for want of leisure to transcribe with my own hand. I pray your Lordship to receive the same excuse for not writing more amply at this time, and in cypher, as I had intended, had not some other hasty business called me away.

Sir Edward Conway, and Mr. Ralph, are, God be thanked, both in good health, and cured of their hurts. Sir Edward is not yet returned from Rochel to the army, but is expected every day, with his brother that went thither yesterday to see him. I will strive to recompence the trouble that I have given your Lordship to read my ill-favoured hand, with two jests, the one at the landing, where an ensign running into the sea, for fear of the enemy, a soldier that took the same way, being asked, and rebuked for flying away, answered, "What, shall I not follow my colours?" Another, at the trenches, where at first it is reported, that instead of casting the earth from the enemy's side, they did cast it towards the enemy, which was indeed the safest way for those who were at work, but not the more honourable. Thus with my humble duty remembered to your Lordship, I remain

Your Lordship's, &c.

From St. Martin's,  
this 27th of July, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

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*Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.*

My very good Lord,

SINCE Sir William Beecher's and Grime's departing, there hath been so little done worthy the advertisement, that this is rather to put you in mind that we may hear from you, than to send you any news from hence. Your Lordship will have understood how we came to this town, where being arrived, the first work was to barricade all the avenues. That being done, we caused batteries to be made against such parts of the citadel, as with their ordnance (which played continually upon us) did much annoy us. The next work was the trenches, wherewith we intend, God willing, to invest the citadel, to cut off all manner of provision or succour from the landward; as we do now by sea, with four or five shallops well armed, which lie under it at night, besides a good part of the fleet which rides not far off. The trenches go on as fast as the hardness of this stony ground will permit, and, I hope, ere long, to bring that work to an end, notwithstanding the opposition which the enemy intends to make, at a place of advantage, where he prepares against our coming. That, being done, I hope they will be so well penned in, both by sea and land, that they will receive no assistance from either. For all our shipping is so dispersed round about the island, that unless some fatality happens which cannot yet be foreseen, no considerable succour can come to them. The forces left at St. Blancheau, are now come to La Flotte, to secure that town, to hinder the communication of the two forts lying in the midway between them both, and to refresh the soldiers, which, from the time of landing, had had no shelter from the injury of the weather, which hath been exceedingly foul with winds and rain.

The Lord Montjoy, with his troops of horse, beats up and down the island, to cut off the straggling forces of the enemy, of whom

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the other night he took thirty musketeers, and some horses, sent out by the enemy to fetch water, which we have sent over to the main land. Thus you see in what case the army stands; it will not be amiss to let you know the state of the enemy, who hath two strong places, whereof the best fortified and chiefeft, is that which we now besiege; that won, I hope the other at La Prée will come in at an easier rate. This is a place of great strength, invincible, if once perfected, and in this imperfect state of fortification it now stands in, so strong, that the shortest way to take it, is by famine. The ground it stands upon is rocky, and of such a continued and hard kind of rock, as the pick-axe will hardly fasten in it, which takes off all possibility of making of mines, had we better engineers than we have in the army. They are strong in number, both of horse and foot, their horse consisting most of gentlemen, and their foot, of the regiment of Champagne, which in this kingdom is called the Invincible. Ordnance they have great store, and those very good, and excellent gunners to use them. Corn, salt-fish, and wine, they have in abundance, and for a long siege; and of all manner of ammunition and arms, more than they can use or spend. And, to conclude, a governor, that had made this the scale of his honour and fortune, out of which, having the Queen-mother and Cardinal for enemies, he will find no safety; so that before he will yield up the place, he will make it his death-bed; and if he cannot live, surely he will die in it. To this may be added, the means that are made to send him succour, and the shipping that are preparing at Bourdeaux, Brouage, Blavett, St. Maloes, and other places, which, once joined, would make such a strength, as if they did not endanger us by sea, yet would they so divert our forces, now scattered round about the island, as we must of necessity gather our fleet into one body, and so leave the other places naked for the enemy to come in with succour, which he would not fail to have in a readiness to put over upon such an occasion; so that considering the means they have

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have within, to hold out, and the endeavours they use abroad to send to them, wherein many accidents may happen to give them opportunity, this is like to prove a long siege, but which shall be maintained by us with courage and resolution; and, I am confident, his Majesty will not let us want. In an army where there is a continual consumption of all manner of ammunition and other provisions, in this place especially, which the enemy hath left bare and destitute of all things, there needs a general supply, but especially of all kinds of ammunition, which your Lordship is intreated to hasten away, with the mortar-pieces and fire-works left behind, and the Dutchman that was expected for the direction of them. Engineers also, the best that could be gotten, and good store of them, would not be unwelcome to us, and the sooner they could come the better; together with shovels and pick-axes, and those somewhat shorter than the former, which their length makes something unwieldy. Touching the troops to be sent us, I will make no mention; I conceive that already done, and in their way to us. Thus you have seen our progress, our state, and our wants, together with the present condition of the enemy; it remains that your Lordship also know how we stand with those of the religion, and the advantages we should get in winning this island. You have seen by what Sir William Beecher hath brought unto you, what the answer of those of Rochel was, what their promises; since which time, all that hath been done is, that they have sent unto the churches of their association, without the advice and consent of whom, it is provided in their last agreement, they shall enter into no party: and this they pretend for their delay of the declaration, together with the bringing in of their harvest, which they would lose, if they did presently declare themselves, besides the furnishing themselves with some other commodities, wherewith being supplied, their union with us may be of better use and advantage. And these are their allegations, which may be true, though it be not also unlikely that they would gladly  
see



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see the issue of our other business to precede their engagement. Notwithstanding, they give us assurance of their affection to the union, and acknowledge the great favour that God doeth unto them, by this his Majesty's real and powerful assistance; which that they may be fully persuaded to be sent only in their behalf, and the rest of the churches, I have, by the advice of Monsieur de Soubize, made a declaration of his Majesty's intention in that behalf, the copy whereof, and of the letter I have written to Madame de Rohan, concerning it, I send herewith. I have sent the original to Rochel, there to be printed, and thence to be distributed to the several places where Madame de Rohan shall think fit. But the main point of this union, as I conceive, depends upon the success of this enterprise, which being once at an end, a strong party will come in of itself, which is one of many commodities that would be gained by this conquest. Others there are, as the impositions upon salt and wine, two of the chiefest commodities of this kingdom, of infinite profit to those that are masters of the islands, with other advantages not unknown to your Lordship, and fitter for our enjoying than for our discourse. I hope ere it be very long, we shall do both, and I make no question we shall have your best wishes for it, answerable to that affection your Lordship hath always shewed to the good success and prosperity of

Your Lordship's humble servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

From the camp at St. Martin's,  
this 28th of July, 1627.

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*Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.*

Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

I DO not well remember where I left, in my last to your Lordship, whereof, before I could make an end, I was taken with a fit of a tertian fever, which, at that time, I conceived to have been weariness, or some other kind of indisposition, but since I have found it otherwise. Wheresoever I left, I will begin with my Lord Duke's continuance in good health, and in remembrance of your Lordship. The enemy's chief labour in the island is in fortifying himself within his hold, as much and as fast, as his wearied, and over-watched, and yet boasting, troops, will give him leave, and in attempting, by all the open and hidden ways that he can devise, upon his Excellency's person, upon whose preservation, he conceives (and not amiss) the good success of his design, next after God and his Majesty, to depend entirely. To this purpose, the citadel makes every day divers shots upon his lodging (and myself have been many times with his Excellency, when the shot hath come through the chamber over which he was), especially about those times they imagine him to be within. Upon this day se'nnight a fellow was taken coming from the citadel, about whom (being searched) was found a chain bullet, and a little short kind of dagger, the blade of it about five or six inches long, very broad for that length, edged on both sides, and those very keen, and a wonderful sharp point, the handle of it longer than would suffice for a good whole handful, twisted about with silk to take faster hold, and a little cross bar between the blade and the handle, to stay the hand and give strength to the blow, which, by the slipping of the hand, is sometimes weakened, and lighting upon any thing of resistance, of little force; so that this instrument, guided with strength, and courage equal to it, was able to pierce an ordinary armour. With this instrument was this fel-

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low found, and, by it, judged to have some evil and extraordinary design; which, to draw from him, he was threatened with the question; for fear of which he hath confessed, and maintained before those gentlemen that came from the citadel, at my Lord Duke's request, that he was set on by Monsieur Toiras, to kill his Excellency, who promised him large rewards in case of performance, which he persuaded him to be feasible. Our trenches go on leisurely, but surely; and by Sunday night we hope to bring them to the water side, unless we be hindered by the enemy, who hitherto hath been reasonably quiet: all the hurt and discommodity that we have received (which, God be thanked, hath been very little) from them, hath been from their ordnance, with which they make wonderful good shots, and, for ought I can see, better than with their muskets, although there be no greater inequality of distance in that respect between them and us, than the breadth of our counter-scarps. Our trenches begin to run now something near them, at most not above half a musket-shot, and our men and theirs play continually upon one another from their works, with their small-shot. Amongst our redoubts, we have one of reasonable good strength, wherein we intend to plant ordnance, and the platforms are now ready for it. It will be of great use to us to defend and flank our trenches, and will greatly incommode the enemy in his out-works, but will chiefly annoy him in that little space of passage that remains open, which he sometimes visits by going to and fro, as the fox (in the game of fox and geese\*) useth to do, when he is near his penning up. This is the state of both sides; another party there is which remains in the state of indifferency, and that is the inhabitants of the island, which hitherto have enjoyed, generally, as much liberty and freedom, as they have ever had in the greatest peace, saving of late, that having found the papists something too busy on giving advices, and furnishing provisions to the enemy, and

\* I pray your Lordship strain the comparison no farther.

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withal exacting a little too much upon the soldiers, contrary to sundry proclamations published in that behalf; an edict was made commanding them, upon pain of being used as enemies, to depart within six days out of the island: which edict, at their humble request and submission, hath remained unexecuted, but not abrogated, and the rather because we would have wanted their aid, in the making of salt and wine, and in casting of our trenches, in which to-day they begin to work. Both protestants and papists we have disarmed, and rated the price of victuals, so that we begin to have pretty markets. We have no great want of any thing yet, but if we winter here, the cold will make us find that there is no great store of fuel; and after a while, the wheat of the island, whereof every one makes such havock to feed their horses, will grow scanty, this island yielding not enough for the use of the inhabitants, much less for our army too, which, though at a dear rate, hitherto hath been fed with the bread of this island, which the soldier found more easy for his teeth than for his purse: howsoever there have not been wanting those that have played reasonably well their parts. Touching our main enemies, we hear every day of their preparations to send succour hither, and in Oleron they have already 10,000 fighting men, whereof 4000 foot, and 500 horse, at least, are old soldiers. Rochelle hath not yet declared itself, but will shortly be put to it by Monsieur D'Angoulesme, who is already within their government, and within less than two leagues of their town, with some troops both horse and foot, with which he intends to build a fort, at the Point of Coraille, near Rochelle, to bridle the passage by sea, and hath already signified so much to the town, but pretending that it is to hinder the English from landing there, and this will shortly prove *lapis scandalii*. Monsieur de Rohan is up in arms, and was to come to Montauban about the 5-15th of this month (which is to-morrow) with 2000 foot, and 500 horse. We hear that the Duke of Savoy, and with him the Count of Soissons, are also coming; and besides the discontents of

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both,

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both, I have this farther reason, that the Count of Soissons is to marry the Duke of Rohan's only daughter. What other diversions and distractions the death of the French King (whereof we have advice) will produce, I know not; I hope it will not be prejudicial to our designs. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordship, I humbly remain

Your Lordship's most humble and most devoted servant,

St. Martin's,  
this 1<sup>st</sup> of August, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

Sir Edward Conway is not yet returned from Rochelle. We have some 500 French in our army.

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*Duke of Buckingham to Edward Nicholas, Esq.*

Nicholas,

**T**HERE is nothing will more advance his Majesty's service here, than a speedy supply of victuals, and other necessary provisions for his army. Whereupon I would not have you fail to continue your diligent solicitation of the officers to that purpose. But, in the mean time, to procure what monies you can of mine own, to be employed to this purpose; for our business now in action admits no delay, and I know my master cannot at this present levy monies in so short a time, as will be necessary for us to receive supplies in; therefore advise with Dick Oliver and Fotherley about it. I can return you no more ships yet, until the citadel be rendered; till when, this whole island will take up all our shipping in the guard of it, being daily threatened and attempted by this King's forces, and with numerous supplies in relief of the citadel from the main land. And thus, with confidence of your known diligence and discretion

discretion in what may concern our own coasts, as his Majesty's fleet abroad, I rest,

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Your's,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

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*Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.*

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

YOUR Lordship hath seen by those his Excellency hath written <sup>14th August.</sup> to you, what our present condition is, and how great need we have of a speedy supply from England; and by the copy of Mons. de Rohan's letter to his brother, what preparations both the Duke of Savoy and he make for the wars. You have also understood the state of our affairs with those of Rochelle, so that I have little left to acquaint your Lordship withal, unless it be with such occurrences as are not worthy to divert you. Our trenches are now, at length, after many stops, and more faults, come to the water side, so that the enemy hath no space left him to get out of the citadel by land, but at low water, where he must needs pass by a redoubt of ours, made at the end of our works to keep that passage. By sea, our ships are disposed in the form of a half moon, within half a musket shot one of the other, whereof the horns encompass the citadel; and about twenty shallops which lie every night before it, well armed with murderers, muskets, pikes and fireworks; besides this we have a new invention in hand, of buoying some masts a pretty way from the shore before the citadel, to hinder the shallops from going in or coming out, keeping only a few boats at the end of that row of masts, to guard the spaces between them and the shore, which will spare a great many shallops which may be employed in other uses. The ten thousand men whereof I wrote to your Lordship in my former, to be in Oleron,

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are now reduced to a lesser number, many of the entertained companies having been withdrawn from thence, and bestowed in places where they are thought to be more useful; and the volunteers, especially the horse troops, after the custom of the French, having retired for want of present employment. Notwithstanding, we keep a strong guard upon that coast, which is fallen to the charge of Capt. Penington's Squadron; so that I conjecture by the enemy's proceeding, that his intention is not as yet to bring a great force in the island, neither are his fleets in readiness for to do it, but only to make the citadel subsist by supplying it with all manner of provisions, wherewith being furnished, it will hold us play a great while, there being no other way to take it than by famine, or by hazard-ing more men than I am afraid we shall be able to spare. And, to this purpose, they are preparing shallops in many places, extraordinarily well manned, and having many granadoes with them, which they intend to make pass with victuals and ammunition, at what rate soever, having selected for this service the desperate crew of the Duke D'Angoulesme's army. Touching Rochelle, your Lordship hath understood by his Excellency's letter, how they are now making a work at Tadon, &c. wherein I shall only say thus much, that I cannot chuse but wonder, that the Duke D'Angoulesme being within two musket shot of those works, with such an army, and the fort Lewis on the other side, towards which they have been all this while naked, being able, if not to beat them from their works, at least to incommode them therein, neither the one nor the other have made so much as a shot at them; which makes me suspect that either there is some intelligence between that King's Ministers and the town, or that the King's affairs are in such a weak and distempered estate, as he dares not provoke them. And though the Rochellers are men of a strange, fickle, and jealous disposition, yet I incline rather to the other opinion for many reasons, which this bearer's importunity to be gone, will not suffer me to lay down.

Touching our army, being of that composition I told your Lordship in my last letter, you will not expect any notable active design. I think my Lord Duke hath sent for Colonel Ogle, who may be of very good use here, and I know your Lordship can prevail with him, more than any other, to make him undertake the voyage. Councils we have seldom, either because his Excellency finds them other than he expected, or that, in this state of affairs, there is little use of them. I send your Lordship the manifest in print, to make amends for the bad writing of the former copy. His Excellency is of your Lordship's disposition in this, that you do all the business upon the spur; and your Lordship knows, I am not commonly before-hand with mine, which makes me sometimes to be taken tardy, as I am at this present, rather for want of time than of matter. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordship, I humbly remain

Your Lordship's most humble and most devoted servant,

St. Martin's,  
this 14th of August, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

The inclosed letters coming from Spain, have been staid and opened by his Excellency, who hath commanded me to send them to you. I have written to Mr. Atres' correspondent, by his Excellency's command.

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*Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.*

My very good Lord,

14<sup>th</sup> August.

**Y**ESTERDAY morning I received your several letters by Mr. Bartley, for which I kindly thank you, and intreat your Lordship for a continuance. I have read Mr. Montague's relation with a great deal of contentment, in his good endeavours for the advancement of his Majesty's service. Concerning the Duke of Savoy's design upon Geneva, I conceive it to be very unseasonable, and of wondrous prejudice to the action that is now in hand, which being chiefly for the restitution of the churches, it will be subject to strange constructions, that he should at the same time attempt upon a principal member of them, and at one instant join with those of their party, and himself go against them. And therefore I think it not amiss that Mr. Montague should receive directions to divert him from that enterprize, by representing unto him the disadvantages it will bring with it, and how he may more usefully and profitably employ his forces in the prosecution of those designs, which his Majesty hath entered into with so good success, and will pursue with all possible constancy and vigour. Touching the overtures of marriage with the Count of Soissons, it is a thing very considerable, would have been entertained with more chearfulness, and pursued with such assurances, as, in contemplation of the certainty, and great benefits of this alliance, would have engaged him presently to enter into action; an act in this conjuncture of affairs of wondrous consequence. As for Mons. de Rohan, you will see, by a copy of his letter to Mons. de Soubize, the scope of his intentions. How we stood with the Rochellers, your Lordship hath understood by my last of the 28<sup>th</sup> of the last month, since which time Mons. D'Angoulesme with 6000 foot, 500 horse, and 40 pieces of ordnance, is come within less than  
a mile

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a mile of the town, where he lodges with his army. His pretence is to hinder our landing in those parts, and to that purpose desired them not to find it strange if he built a fort in those parts. This, and the stop he makes of all manner of provisions from coming into the town, hath so alarmed the Rochellers, that they presently sent unto me, to acquaint me therewith, praying me to give them my advice what was fittest to be done, and to lend them 500 French that were in the army, to help them to seize upon that place, and to fortify it, which I did accordingly, and furnished them with arms to that purpose, thereby to hasten their engagement, and assure myself of those men upon all occasions. And now I understand, by other deputies that are come to me, that they are in hand with that work, which will be, within a few days, in a state of defence, unless they be hindered by the enemy, which is like enough to sit still, until he receives new forces out of Poitou; and by that time I hope they will be sufficiently provided for him. It remains now that I put your Lordship in mind of our present condition, which is such, as, without a speedy supply, will not only disable us from gaining any thing upon the enemy, but hazard the making good of what we have already got. Your Lordship knows what small forces we brought with us, which cannot chuse but be much diminished, having met with so many ways of consumption, whereof the most dangerous is now at hand (the vintage). For the supplies that are to come out of Ireland, I have rather hope than confidence in that succour, which depending upon so many, and those so uncertain ways, there is little assurance to be given to it. Therefore I intreat your Lordship to hasten the other out of England, and to give order that those soldiers that are appointed for recruits only, may have no particular officers for their conduct, but that the same officers which shall be appointed for the new companies, may also take charge of the recruits till their arrival, that so the recruits may be disposed of to their true end, which is the reinforcement of the former

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former companies, and not in making of new, which can be of no other use, than to draw more charges upon his Majesty. Your Lordship sees what we want, and what we rely upon, and I doubt not but you will take care for the supplying of our necessities, wherein you may come short of our wants, but cannot well exceed our uses. We have such ways of employment that the more forces we have, the less chargeable they will be to his Majesty; and the less, the more expensive. I will prescribe your Lordship no other limitations in this, than that the supplies which you send, may be every way answerable to your affection to

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

From the camp, at St. Martin's,  
this 22th of August, 1627.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

I would intreat you to speak to his Majesty, for Sir Alexander Brett, that he may have Sir William Heydon's place in the Artillery; and Mr. Patrick Mawle, that of Gentleman Usher, which was promised him by my late Master.

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*Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.*

My dear Friend,

IT will not be enough to tell your humble servant hath hitherto been fortunate, except I acquaint your noble heart likewise, that both your sons did so courageously contribute to it, that neither of them came off unhurt; but I thank God they are both in health, and now in no danger; neither is your humble servant likely to leave this country but with the esteem of an honest man; and,

I am sure, your humble servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

*Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.*

Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,

**C**ONTRARY to my promise and duty, I am now again surpris'd; but it is no news to your Lordship, to see me fall in the same fault more than once, especially in fault of negligence. I must confess I could never have met with occasion that could have made my haste more excusable, having little else to write besides the remembrance of my humble duty to your Lordship, to which, whatsoever I shall add, might have better become the relation of this bearer; with whom I mean to begin, letting your Lordship know, that his Excellency doth place a great deal of confidence in him, and makes him partaker of his chiefest Councils, for the advancement of his designs, not without the envy of most of the officers who are jealous of that privacy, as trenching (as they conceive) something upon them. Your Lordship doth know the man and what parts he hath, by which you may judge whether any extraordinary worth in him, or the scarcity of able men, as some would have it, have approached him to his Excellency. For my part, I am not able to judge of it, but I think his activity, industry, and application of himself to those things which others as able, but less industrious, look to be called unto, have made him so useful, and so much employed by his Excellency. The cause of this his voyage you will learn of himself, according to the directions he hath from his Excellency, who in my hearing told him (after an honourable mention of your worth and affection to him) he placed his chiefest confidence of his expedition, in your Lordship's care.

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Aug. 25th.

Sir Edward Conway is some days since returned from Rochelle, and is pretty well recovered of his wound. His Excellency was very glad to see him, and expressed a great deal of contentment in his

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return,

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return, which I have heard him often desire. I send to your Lordship the copy of the summons, wherewith his Excellency did me the honour to send by me to Monsieur de Toiras, together with the answer, which he returned the next day, by the Baron St. Surin, who hath been often with his Excellency about overtures to be made of an accommodation of affairs between the two Crowns; wherein he hath little profited, his Excellency seeing so clear into his intentions, as it was impossible for the other to hide, or to get any advantage, by such gross pretences. It were too long for me to inform your Lordship of all the circumstances of this business, and the means that have been propounded to bring it about. This bearer, which hath been a chief actor in it, will acquaint your Lordship with all those passages. Touching Rochelle, I can better say they are not in peace, than that they are in war; or if it be one, it is without blows. The Duke D'Angoulesme fortified at Bongrene, and those of Rochelle, near the place where they had a fort called Tadon. The Duke pretends he hath no intention to build a fort there, and indeed what he hath done hitherto, is but a line; but your Lordship knows that the greatest works have their small beginnings, and if it go on, will prove no less prejudicial than the old fort; to which this being added, will block up Rochelle entirely by land. As for the work that the Rochellers make, and which is, by this time, in a state of defence, it is to hinder the Duke from making one at Tadon, where themselves dare not build, because it is something too far from town, and they have but little forces to make it good. They have not yet declared themselves, nor are they much pressed unto by his Excellency, to whom they would be of little use, until we have compassed our design upon this island; that being done, we shall need no great intreaty.

Concerning the state of our army, it is, God be thanked, without sickness or necessity. Our enemy is now penned in by land, and almost by sea, by means of certain booms we have laid before the citadel,

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citadel, to keep all succour from coming that way. They begin to be in want; and every day their soldiers run away from them. Monsieur Torras hath promised to keep it till the 10th of September after their account, and we hope he will not exceed that month at farthest, if we can hinder him from being succoured. Our officers are now at their old ward, and they do it exceedingly well. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordship, I remain

Your Lordship's most humble and most devoted servant,

St. Martin's,  
4th of September, }  
25th of August, } 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

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*Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.*

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

WHAT I have hitherto written to your Lordship, hath been September:

out of duty; this is by command from his Excellency, to intreat your Lordship jointly with Mr. Secretary Cooke, to enquire out one whose name his Excellency cannot remember, neither his condition, unless it were that of Provost Marshal of London; only this direction he can give you (which his Excellency doth not use to forget) that he did good service for repressing the insolency of the mariners, when they came up to Whitehall, in that tumultuous manner to demand money, and as he thinks, hath served in the wars; and that you would be pleased to send him over to his Excellency by the next. To this, I have nothing to add of my own, but that upon Saturday here arrived about fifty sail of Dutch, which came here for salt, and have assured us, that his Excellency the Prince of Orange hath taken Groll. The enemy holds out as yet, though he be reduced to great necessities, as we understand by

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some that come to us daily from the citadel. This weather is very favourable unto them, and by the extraordinary rains that fall, supplies them with water, which they chiefly wanted. By the next, your Lordship will receive some overtures from the Rochellers, for the reglement of the traffic, which, now that they be blocked up by land, would be permitted unto them with as much advantage, and liberty, as the present state of his Majesty's affairs could permit, for they are very poor, and had need to be cherished; and if their liberty of trade be taken clean away, they must either fall to the other party, or be presently ruined; if shortened, they will languish and be less affected to us. I know they are a mutinous and base kind of people; but I speak not for them, but for the interest his Majesty hath in their subsistence, and the stroke that their adhering or falling away from our party, will strike in the whole body of the religion, which is chiefly governed by this part. I know your Lordship is not unmindful of our poor islands \*, notwithstanding I will make bold to recommend them to your Lordship's accustomed care. I know the Lords are sensible of their present condition, but yet not answerable to their misery, which these troubles between us and France have so augmented, by the interruption of their small trade, that I protest to God I see not which way they can avoid their utter ruin, unless some means be used from England to prevent it by some relief. All the money that they had heretofore in the islands came out of France, from their traffic of stockings, which being now cut off, unless some way be found out, that may set the poor people on work, as that did, I see not how they can live. For it must be by manufacture that they shall subsist, the islands affording no commodities of their own to vent abroad, and having no shipping to transport foreign commodities from one kingdom to another. If the Governor be permitted to bring over money into England, as he usually doth for his annual rents there, I do

\* Guernsey and Jersey.

not



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not think there will be any money at all left in the island. If I speak more sensibly of this than I ought, your Lordship will excuse it, upon the affection that I owe, and which I will bear as long as I live, unto my country. One thing more I have to recommend to your Lordship, and that is Sir Philip Carteret's business, on whose side you shall find, upon examination, more justice than hitherto hath been conceived of his cause. As for myself, your Lordship will be pleased to think upon me when occasion serves, as upon one that will always be

Your Lordship's most humble,  
and most devoted servant,

HEN. DE VIC.

St. Martin's,  
this of August-September, 1627.

## *Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.*

My very good Lord,

THE hope which your last I received, dated from Bagshot, the 19th Sept. 14th of August, gave unto this army, hath bred in it an eager and impatient expectation of supplies out of England; since which time, the certain intelligence of this King's preparations for the recovery of this island, hath much augmented the importunity of our officers, who now give themselves for men neglected and forgotten in England. Of the strength of the French King's army, wherein is a collection of the most eminent and resolute spirits of this kingdom; his correspondency with Spain; and his intention to engage us in a fight at sea, that in the mean time his boats of succours may pass the more easily into the citadel, this bearer will inform your Lordship at large, unto whom I must refer you for the history of particulars, and by whom I have sent a list of those necessities, our wants continually call upon us to be furnished with; which

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which I pray your Lordship to hasten hither with all possible diligence. You shall receive likewise, by this bearer, the articles conceived by the Rochellers; which I send you chiefly to the end you may shew them my Master, without whose advice I purpose to conclude of nothing that shall be of consequence or importance in this action, and partly to delay their deputies with that answer; that according to the success of the war, we may either give or accept of conditions; for since they have declared themselves, we now have them at a lock, and the reputation of their accord with us, will be the same, with all the party of the religion in France, as if the articles were agreed on betwixt us. Thus, in haste, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful friend and humble servant,

From the Camp at St. Martin's,  
in the Isle of Rhé, the 19th  
of September, 1627.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

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*Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway.*

May it please your Lordship,

27th Sept.

I HOLD it my duty to advertise you, that I parted from Portsmouth Road the 16th of September, and, by the 19th, with some difficulty, I got to Falmouth with the rest of the fleet, where we were driven to put in by the contrariety of winds. The 21st we put out from thence again, and on the 25th we arrived here in the Isle of Rhé, with all the fleet, without any decay either of men or provisions. And I do esteem it for one of the extraordinary blessings of God upon this action, that we arrived here so opportunely; for that if we had staid, I dare not say how little time longer, by all men's confession, the whole action had been in great hazard. I dare not interpose my censure of this action of war, understanding it

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it so little as I do; but I see all men full of hope and confidence, to carry the place with assurance, within a very short space, if all succour by sea in dark and stormy nights may be prevented; for which purpose here is used all means possible. There would daily run away many in the fort, if our own men did not keep them in, because it is held the best to force them to come out all together; but in the mean time it is signified to them, by sundry ways, that if they will render, they shall have good quarter. But yesterday a drummer was sent, to desire a passport for a gentleman to treat of a matter of importance, but he received answer, that except he came to treat of rendering the citadel, he might have no passport; since when, we hear no more of them, but peradventure may do very shortly. It is so late since mine arrival, that I cannot yet get it resolved, to have the shipping which came with me discharged and sent back, and here are so many advertisements given, of ships prepared all along the coasts, to join with the Spanish galleons, to come and fight with us, as I doubt it may breed some stop in the present disposing of the ships to other services. For my part I can only say, that I did neither see in my passage any argument of a fleet amassed together, nor can think that the Spanish galleons and they can meet together, but with much ceremony and time. It would be very necessary, with the first opportunity, that hose, and shoes, and shirts, should be sent for the soldiers, and that merchants should be encouraged to send hither of all kinds of provisions, for which there will be means to return salt (of which my Lord Duke hath a great quantity already in his hands) and wines, whereof there is reasonable store, made this vintage. I shewed my Lord Duke the note which your Lordship sent me to Portsmouth, by the King's command, concerning salt, which my Lord Duke tells me, he had in consideration before my coming, and means to send the information of it at large very presently. Thus, with mine humble duty remembered,

CHARLES I.  
1627. membered, I beseech the Almighty to preserve your Lordship in health and happiness.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

This 27th of September, 1627.  
From St. Martin's.

WILL. BEECHER.

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*Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway.*

3d October. I AM, by my Lord Duke's commandment, to advertise you of the occurrences fallen out since the date of this letter of the 27th of September, which goeth in this packet, by which I do advertise your Lordship of my passage and arrival here. On the 28th, there came two gentlemen to treat of the rendering of the citadel; who, growing into terms of delay, his Grace did give them that afternoon at four of the clock, to present their conditions, which they would demand, to come forth. But at four of the clock, they sending a letter to demand time until eight this morning; his Grace finding them to seek delays, gave so much the stricter order, to have the watch at sea against the citadel, kept with greater care. But that night being very dark, and somewhat stormy, upon the shooting of the ships, for warning of an enemy's approach at sea, his Grace did rise, and went to sea himself, to put forward the business; but almost all our barks of the watch taking a contrary course in the dark, the enemy's fleet, consisting of thirty-five barks, broke through the thickest of our fleet, and the Admiral was taken, with divers gentlemen, prisoners therein, being stopt by the hawsers drawn on purpose between our ships; but fourteen or fifteen of them got through into the citadel; the rest turned back. His Grace did upon it expose his person very far, to draw on the sea watch to fall

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in with them in the dark, and to set them on fire, and it cannot be excused, but that many of them did very ill perform their duty. Yet the next day at noon (our ordnance having kept them from discharging) his Grace in person drew forth divers of the seamen in boats, and sent them to assist a fire-ship, which with great hazard and resolution was set on fire, and put in amongst the barks of succour close to the citadel, but the wind being altogether calmed, and the sea retiring, they of the citadel, with long poles, found means to put off the fire-ship; and that night they were unloaded; by which I do judge the citadel cannot have less than a month's provision, having not left, before, victuals for two days. That afternoon the Colonels desired leave to advise among themselves, and to present their advice what was fit to be done in this case, as things stood. And all with one voice concluded, that it was fit for them to be gone; the grounds whereof were these, that by the late coming of their succours and supplies, they were kept in such continual weakness, that they could not advance their works as had been requisite; that by the extreme duties, and the immoderate eating of grapes (which no care could prevent) the soldiers were so wasted, as there do not now remain above 5000 able men, and 2500 sick men, and the disease runs on so violently, as worse is daily to be feared. That all the industry which the seamen could hitherto use, hath not been able to prevent sundry succours to enter, without which the citadel had been rendered six weeks since. That their provisions were not only wasted, but much of them spoiled and unserviceable, and their corn being unground, whensoever there grew a calm, the soldiers were ready to mutiny for want of bread. That their succours from home arrived always so late, as they served only to keep them in a lingering weakness. And that now by mine arrival, they had means to return home, which otherwise had been desperate. Upon this advice my Lord Duke did resolve once to return; but that night there arriving some deputies from Rochelle,

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they first moved his Grace, by their extreme cries and complaints, unto pity, and professing to give his Grace the uttermost assistance which their poverty and their present estate might afford, being pressed on all sides by the King's army, where he is now arrived in person. It was resolved the next day, by advice, that we should prepare all things as much as might be, for a departure, but to suspend the execution until his Grace might hear from Rochelle, what might be done by them. On this day, being the 3d of October, arrived Monsieur de Soubize, and four deputies from Rochelle, who make offer to take 1000 of our sick men into their town, to send 500 of their men hither, to help to bear the duties here, to provide us with meal for our corn, that we may have a provision of bread before-hand; to send us hither more small barks, to help to make our guard stronger at sea. The inhabitants likewise of the religion in the island, offer to take off the rest of our sick men, to put 500 men in arms to assist us, to strengthen likewise with their men and boats our guard at sea. His Grace likewise, upon a more exact survey of his victuals, hath taken a course to lengthen out his provisions, and to send out some of his ships, to dissipate the preparations of farther succours. And upon these grounds, it was this day resolved by general consent of all but one, to expect here our succours from England. I am therefore, by his Grace's command, to desire you to use all possible industry for the setting forward of my Lord of Holland's, and my Lord of Moreton's regiments; and to move his Majesty and the Lords to send, with all speed, such supplies of meal, victuals, and apparel, as he hath formerly written for; and to send likewise for fuel, great store of sea-coal for ballast, which will be very necessary for the soldiers in these cold seasons. It would be likewise very necessary, that merchants of all parts should be encouraged to send hither all sorts of provisions, for which they may either have money here, or a return of salt and wines, of which his Grace hath already great store in his hands. I am commanded

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manded to desire you, to hasten back this bearer Mr. Griffin. So, with mine humble duty remembered, I pray God to keep your Lordship in good health and prosperity.

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Your Lordship's most humbly at commandment,

From St. Martin's,  
this 3d of October, 1627.

WILL. BEECHER.

## *Mr. De Vit to Lord Conway.*

Right Honourable, and my singular good Lord,

THAT I have not written to your Lordship by Mr. Ashburn- 12-22d Oct.

ham and Mr. Griffin, I humbly pray your Lordship accept of this true excuse, that my absence from the camp, being employed in a continual service for his Excellency in other parts of the island, made me ignorant of their departure, the suddenness whereof surprised many others besides me, desirous enough, and far nearer than myself, to have laid hold upon those occasions. Since which no other occurrences have happened, but what are ordinary in all affairs, especially in the wars, changes and alterations, as of the state of affairs, so of councils and resolutions. It was impossible for me to have imagined so sudden and so great a change as I saw in us, upon the coming of the last succour of the citadel. Such an alteration there was upon that unhappy accident, of joy into sadness, confidence into despair, triumphs to retreats, as I could hardly conceive the same spirits had been capable of so much contrariety. I have too honourable an opinion of us, to attribute this unto fear, but it was very like it, and of many, but questionless undeservedly, thought to be so. Neither do I think it a longing in some to return home to their wives; I hope we have none so uxorious; or impatiency in others, to be a little scantied in fresh

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meats,



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meats, and desirous to eat Christmas beef at home; our own courage, the honour of our nation, his Majesty's service, and the very example of the enemy, teach us better things. I rather attribute it to the care of our officers, who considering our men died apace, and like to fall more and more by means of sickness, hard duties in this winter time, together with the ability of the enemy to subsist long, both by what they had already received, and (notwithstanding all we could do) would come in daily, by the opportunity of storms, which in this season and country are not scanty, thought fitter for his Majesty's service, to make a voluntary and safe retreat, than to hazard a forcible and shameful expulsion by the enemy, and our own necessities. But the incomparable courage of his Excellency had overcome all these difficulties (though pushed home unto him with so much plainness, and in unfit places, to which he opposed all the arguments that wisdom, valour, entireness of devotion and affection to his prince and country, and sense of the distressed and lamentable condition of the poor churches, by such a desertion, could suggest unto him,) had not a more forcible argument, the consideration of want of victuals, represented unto him by those he could not but believe in that point, but who were themselves deceived in it, made him to assent unto it. Hereupon order is taken for a retreat, the place where we landed, fortified to secure us in it, the ordnance embarked, all but our small drakes, the sick, some sent to Rochelle, some aboard the ships, all unnecessary things embarked, and nothing left ashore that might become a prey to the enemy. In this state were we, though resolved not to depart, till our own necessities, or the conquering sword of the enemy, should compel us to the last refuge of embarking, when (upon examination of our provisions) our stores being found otherwise than was imagined, and Mr. Dolbier coming with news of speedy supplies, the resolutions of a retreat presently changed into those of staying, and biding it out, made it evident how much his Excellency was  
against

against the former. Here we are, and intend to remain as long as our own provisions, and all the ways we can use to lengthen them, will enable us; when that is done, you will not think it our fault if we come to you. If I can get any time, I will venture to make a paraphrase upon this letter, but I cannot do it without hazard, for want of my cypher, which, with my money and other things, have been stolen from me in my absence. Thus, with my humble duty to your Lordship, I remain

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Your Lordship's most humble

and most devoted servant,

From St. Martin's,  
this 12-22d of October, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.



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## No. III.

From the  
Paper-office.

*Papers about a secret Treaty with the Flemings.*

[This private negotiation between Charles I. and some principal members of the States of Flanders and Brabant, has been passed over in silence by the numerous historians of his reign. That Prince, in the weak state of his government, was little able to support so bold an undertaking, and in his foreign measures he was undetermined whether to take part for or against the house of Austria; consequently could have no real weight with any of the great Catholic powers.

Sir Belthazar Gerbier, who, on the breaking out of the civil wars went into the Parliament service, published after the King's death, a pamphlet called the Non-such Charles; in which he accuses Lord Cottington with having betrayed the secret to the Court of Madrid, whilst the treaty with the discontented Flemings was depending. That noble Lord, faithful as he was to his Master's interest through his whole life, was as strongly attached to those of Spain, where he chose to turn Papist, and end his days after the King's execution. Vide Clarendon.

Gerbier had been master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, was a great virtuoso, and patronized Rubens and Vandyke; he was resident many years at Brussels, was acquainted with the intrigues of that Court, and transmitted very material intelligence from thence.

There is a letter from him amongst Thurloe's papers wherein he directly charges Lord Cottington with the treachery above-mentioned, a softer term cannot be given to the fact.

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For more particulars about Gerbier, the reader is referred to Mr. Walpole's very elegant and useful work on English painters and artists, vol. II. which all lovers of taste and vertu must wish to see completed.]

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*Extracts from the relation of Mr. Gerbier's account given to his Majesty of the state of the Catholic States.*

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING no news of my letter of 1<sup>st</sup> last, written to your Majesty in cypher, I shall endeavour in this to touch the business of importance, for the which I should have gone into England. This bearer being an express, and sure messenger, I spare writing in cypher.

August 14th.

These states spiritual and temporal, perceiving that the Spaniards are no more able to support and defend them and their religion, had resolved (as appears in my dispatch of the 12th of June) that in their assembly appointed for the 20th present, They would make not only a general protestation against this government, but also, in case that \* Maastricht were lost, undertake the care of the State, making themselves Free States; drive out the Spaniards, contract alliances with their neighbours, and a peace with the Hollanders; which resolution was neither sudden nor accidental, but premeditated of a long while, and therefore of more force.

And considering what good stroke France had therein, I have not failed to have a careful eye thereunto; that nothing might be neglected which concerned your Majesty's glory, and the interest of your kingdoms. I have acted my part, without putting myself in the posture of a monopolizer, having only hearkened unto what past.

\* Then besieged by Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange.

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The Infanta and this Spanish Council were astonished at the dangerous consequences which (as I have written in my dispatch of the 26th) caused the adjournment of the said Assembly; which hath notwithstanding in no manner diminished the first resolution of the States, who expect only till the surrender of Maestricht, knowing it is then in their power to oblige the Infanta to a convocation of the aforesaid States; if not, they will assemble of themselves. But indeed, the great want of monies moved the Infanta to declare their assembly for the 10th of July past, as also for to keep the States in a good temper. Which determination notwithstanding was changed on the 11th, by reason of advertisements the Infanta had received from Nicolaldy in England, and another, that these States resolved to shake off the Spaniards, and make themselves free; that there was only the Duke of Arscot faithful and constant to the King of Spain; that therefore the Infanta ought to have a very great care therein. The Infanta summoned thereupon the States to a secret Council, and therein shewed them the letters, in which there was set down in expresse terms, that upon some conference between persons in England, advertisement was given, that upon the loss of Maestricht, these States would cast off the Spanish government. The Infanta shewed the said letters to Sir Peter Rubens, who told me, that they bore such information as would hazard the lives of many in these countries. Which particularities I thought myself bound to set down.

But as concerning the States, their resolutions being grounded on what was wrought by France upon their dispositions, they stick fast unto their first point, which is to procure a new form, although the remedy (whereunto their long labours and pains do carry them) may be in itself, for the novelty, as dangerous as the evil; as the histories of the practices of the Duke D'Anjou do witness; that if they be carried to an insurrection, it would facilitate the conquest France doth seem to hope for; for which end the French have won unto them

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them the chief of those whose interests best agree with France, and who will stir any requisite time.

The particularities and deep secrets were communicated unto me by a person disguised, who had taken an hour in the night for to speak unto me; which person I must needs judge to be of worth; his strong arguments and prudent language bearing sufficient proof. He spoke as in the name of a whole body, which aimed to be supported by an alliance with England, for to counterbalance France; who instead of a confederacy, prepared means to bring these provinces into subjection; which to prevent, the support of England was conceived the strongest remedy, and therefore was desired I should procure, under your Majesty's hand and seal, power for to hear (under profound secret) what was so considerable, that shewing my authorization, and engaging my word for secrecy, I might know not only the party, but be sure it was no French. This party (as the said person told me) being in no small emulation with the other for points of honours, expecting no less from your Majesty, than as the King of Spain had honoured them with the Fleece, they might have to wear the Garter, as a mark of dependency of honours, and to be even with those who should be honoured with the order of the Holy Ghost.

I was very attentive unto this discourse, my mind still fixed on the proverb *Disidentia est mater prudentie*, not being certain but that this person might be set on purposely to sound me, if England was desirous of the subversion of the Spanish government.

Wherefore, my first answer was with admiration, feigning not well at first to comprehend their design, and with much difficulty these high resolutions, lest their success, considered the troubles past and present amongst them, intimating thereby that I lived not here to forge factions; but that withal, England ought to be accounted as their best and most considerable neighbourhood, both for its situation, strength by sea, commerce and affection of the people,

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who have always lived in good intelligence with these countries; being from France whence all the stirrs proceed, as the histories do bear record. The said person promised then, that, upon the procuring of my authorization, he would make known himself, desiring that no time might be lost. Considering therefore the advantages your Majesty might reap hereby; and, on the other part, how prejudicial it would be to your Majesty, that France should procure a primitive alliance with these States, if not the conquest; which would render France too potent a neighbour; I thought fitting to advertise your Majesty thereof in these terms; and believe your Majesty will approve that, upon this consideration, I set down those of Queen Elizabeth in the years 1576-77, and 1578, who by a singular prudence laboured to hinder this people from casting themselves under the protection of France. Which considerations I thought fitting to set down these with particularities. And seeing the lives of great persons might run hazard by the discovery of these designs, I find myself bound in charity and loyalty not to communicate them any farther than to your Majesty, who may impart them unto your prudent Council, as in your royal wisdom shall be thought fitting, it being the request made by the secret party.

Your Majesty may be pleased to weigh the glory which will rebound unto your Majesty from this alliance; which excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of the world, will serve as an assured rampart to other countries, neighbours and allies of your Majesty, and free them from any change or invasion.

Your Majesty will be pleased to let me be instructed of your royal pleasure herein, that I may know how to pursue this business, lest these people through despair cast themselves away immediately by France.

I touched in my dispatch of the 21-31st of August, the business of Bouchain, in which plainly appeared the designs of France; who, when it came to the push, did, as it were, step back, moved there-

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unto either for not being ready, or not resolving a breach with Spain, or expecting the taking of Maestricht. On this occasion of the business of Bouchain being discovered, the French Resident, Monsieur Berüyer, was commanded from Brussels.

I touched in my dispatch of the 4th of September to his Majesty, what followeth :

The business contained in my dispatch unto your Majesty of the 14-4th of July, advanceth very much ; so that I fear your Majesty's instructions will not come so soon as I shall stand in need of them, the business being still in the same estate, inclining to your Majesty ; for some of these States are in great suspicion and jealousy of France, whence the resolutions of these to a revolution were fomented.

I can assure your Majesty, that these States offer to put into my hands, absolute means to render your Majesty master of this business, to the exclusion of the French ; so that in case the Spaniards obtain not a truce, they will find themselves excluded for ever from these countries, &c.

I touched in my letters of the 12th-2d of September to his Majesty, what followeth :

Your Majesty will understand by the note inclosed in my letter to the Secretary, that within few days I shall be able to give an account of all that is passed ; in the interim, your Majesty may be pleased to know, that all goes on very currently, and can receive no change, but by the death of the King of France, bruited here in great danger. God forgive the givers of information from England, for thereby the secret suffers violence ; which must needs be, since Nicolaldy could write to the Abbot D'Escaglia, that I had asked leave to come unto your Majesty, and that the order was sent me.

I touched in my dispatch of the 21-11th of September to his Majesty, what followeth :

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In my last of the 22d, I wrote, that, by this extraordinary, I should give an account of the great business. Your Majesty's commission by him to me, came very seasonably for to countenance my endeavours, that France should not draw this people under her subjection, upon colour to protect them.

In my last letter of the 14-4th, were set down my first answers to the person disguised, which answers were with caution, for to prevent all subject of suspicion in the King of Spain's Ministers here, of forging factions with this people; which caution was also necessary not only to discover whether these overtures were not made on some other design, but to get time to be informed of your Majesty's pleasure. The said person continually pressed me to know whether these States might assure themselves of your Majesty's good-will towards their preservation, and consequently to assist them. My answers were still reserved, which the party perceiving, gave me to understand, that France had made a strong party amongst them; and to make me see it plainly, offered to shew me the commission of the French King, for negotiating the revolution, invited me to a place in the country where I should meet with persons of quality, who would shew me the said commission, and assure me of the aforesaid resolutions. He told me the commission bore these words, " Nous autorisons le porteur de la presente pour donner telles assurances a nos chers et bien aymés amis et voisins les estats du pays bas, que seront nécessaires pour leur seureté et preservation;" and that the cause he was so earnest with me was, the different dispositions amongst them, which, besides the contradictions and differences of minds, might at length breed a jealousy and distrust one of another, and so overthrow the business; concluding that they feared to fall under France, and would labour as much as they could to prevent it.

I conceived this business to be of dangerous consequence; for by reason of division that might fall amongst them, it would be hard  
keeping

keeping of the secret; but that it was also requisite your Majesty should not be excluded from this alliance to counter-poise France; wherefore I have been watchful that nothing might escape my knowledge of what was plotting amongst them, both concerning that business and the truce, of which two points I shall make an ample relation in this letter, and do hope your Majesty will approve this course I take, considering this residence is different from those of France, Venice, Savoy, Holland, and such like; by reason of their common interests, it is easy to discover what is in agitation amongst them; but the present conjuncture of affairs in these parts, being quite contrary to those of the rest of Christendom, makes that they are here distrustful of every one, even of many amongst themselves; so that, without a plausible pretext, it were hard to walk in this labyrinth.

For the first part, my answer to the person (upon the point of shewing me the French King's authorization) was, that I could hardly have conceived the business was come so far; and wondered to see they were so nigh to a new subjection; and should have forgotten the troublesome practices of a Duke d'Anjou. Yet since it were so, they were in as ill a case as if conquered by the Hollanders, who offer liberty of religion: That although I had no power from your Majesty to offer what they might expect from England; yet, upon assurance of their resolution to be such as was declared, I could assure them of so strong a support as they should not need to lose themselves willingly: That as for the strong motion the French affected party doth cause in their body of States, since they could not be severed, it were expedient to counterbalance it by England. Hereupon it was resolved that I should speak with some persons of quality; but the place being remote, I took some days to resolve, and furnish me with a sufficient pretext, which happened very fortunately as followeth.

Your

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Your Majesty may please to know that the Abbate d'Escaglia \* hath often discoursed with me of the King of Spain's inclination to restore the Palatinate, and that there was means for to accommodate the point of the electoral dignity, in case your Majesty could prevail for a truce, which the King of Spain will have at any price soever. The Abbate d'Escaglia was confident your Majesty might procure it, the more Sir Peter Rubens did assure the Prince of Orange, and divers of the chief towns were inclined for truce. The Abbate continuing in this discourse, witnessed to resent the ingratitude of the Hollanders, if, after so many assistances from England, they should refuse to hearken to a treaty by your Majesty's mediation, which your Majesty might, with great advantages of your allies, the truce being made by your Majesty; and therefore the said Abbate d'Escaglia wished I had some correspondent with the Prince of Orange and the States, that, as of myself, I might make them sensible, what glory it would be to them to make the truce by *Via regia*.

I made use of this discourse for to frame me a pretext, though his discourse in itself seemed full of craft, jealousy, and ambition; craft, in that, may be, the success of Sir Peter Ruben's negociation may be doubtful, and therefore these would have two strings to their bow; jealousy, in that Sir Peter Rubens had procured power to treat, the Duke of Newburgh, and some of the principal ones here, excluded; ambition, for that the Abbate d'Escaglia (the truce thus procured) would carry the glory. I answered, that I had intelligence with an ancient friend residing for the States at Liege, and that I would not stick to go thither myself, provided it were kept secret. The Abbate fastened on this hook, and believing I would undertake this journey for to persuade my friend to deal with the Prince of Orange, that this treaty might be by *Via regia*, discovered unto me, from point to point, the negotiation of Sir Peter Rubens,

\* A very intriguing Minister from Savoy.

what

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what towns stood for truce; and finally, that the business was now in the States hands. So that the said Abbate, after this free communication, with knowledge of the Infanta (under great secrecy) procured me a safe conduct, which served to a double benefit; for by this means there will be nothing done in the truce without your Majesty's knowledge; and I have spoken (without suspicion) to the persons (two of their names in this inclosed paper) and have seen the French King's commission.

The persons declared unto me the constancy of their resolution, that their designs were not only to eschew the French subjection; but that the revolution should be by the whole body, and not of particular members, lest they might incur the censure of rebels. Their aim is, that, through the support of England and France, they might live as Free Catholic States, and, by virtue of that quality, treat a peace with the States of Holland, excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of Christendom. So that after I had seen the commission of the French King, I thought fitting to shew that from your Majesty, for to confirm them in the assurance of a strong assistance, which was able to counterbalance France.

I represented unto them the affection, equity, and generosity of your Majesty, which moved your Majesty to this charitable offer of assistance for their preservation; and for to draw them out of the precipice wherein they were plunged. By this means your Majesty could not be *devanced* by France, nor frustrated of so considerable an alliance, having procured to themselves the pretended liberty; to which end they procured the hand-writing of the Prince of Orange and the States, wherein was promised, that whensoever these should assume unto them the qualities of States, those of Holland did oblige themselves to treat with them, in case these States had no army; that the States forces under the Prince of Orange should support them, and cause the plausible pretext for the Revolution, seeming constrained to an alliance with Holland, for the preservation of the State

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State and religion; and by this means bear the quality of redeemers of their country; and not become new examples of rebels, as the Counts Horne and Egmont were termed. These are their thoughts, projects, and resolutions; and though your Majesty hath knowledge of them, sure it is, the King of Spain can take no exception, whenever the business should be divulged. This relation will seem tedious, yet, I hope, not disapproved, that I can give an account of all these particularities, consisting in two principal points. The first, my proceedings before I received your Majesty's commission, which was with such reservation as your Majesty's interests required, that this great business might be carried with your advantage; yet so that Spain could not reproach your Majesty's ministers to have contributed to this revolution.

The second point is, concerning my proceedings, since your Majesty's commission received; the pretext I used for to see those persons; whom I assured of your Majesty's royal disposition; and by this interview, discovered the state of the treaty of truce, and fully instructed myself of these States designs; who, as I assure myself, are retired from the way of subjection, wherein the craft of France, and division among themselves, had engaged them; so that, as your Majesty saith very well, the King of Spain ought rather to thank your Majesty for having hindered this people from casting themselves into the hands of his enemies and rebels. This business being in these terms, it is my part to be watchful; and the part of these States to put themselves in terms ready for the alliance and protection of their friends; which effected, your Majesty's friends will be assured, and the Palatinate the freer from invasions.

The ecclesiastics have been the most resolute for the revolution; who, had it not been for the difference of religion, would have embraced your Majesty's alliance, without seeking any further.

The means these will use for their declaration is to procure refusal of truce from the Hollanders, and not to treat with these, unless  
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in quality of Catholic Free States, not under the Spanish subjection, CHARLES  
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The French affected party propounded to depute into France, upon pretext to procure that the French King should cease giving assistance to the Hollanders, and procure a peace for them; which fair propositions should serve only to amuse the Spaniards, whilst Count Henry de Berghes should come into the field. In the interim these States caused some papers to be thrown, the copies go here inclosed, with the printed ones of the States of Holland, which have wrought such effect, that every one hath here in his mouth, Out Spaniards.

I touched in my dispatch of the 15-25th September to his Majesty what followeth:

I am informed that these States will treat with me openly, which I will seek to hinder, for the censure may be made thereof; but in case I could not avoid it, it seems necessary that I were informed of your Majesty's pleasure, whether I should not declare the business unto the Infanta in this manner;

That her Highness knowing the ministers of Kings to be as royal centinels, and bound to give an account of what they see and hear: that their dwellings are open palaces, whence none can be excluded, her Highness should not marvel that I have not been able to shun the visits of these States, come unto me without being invited: that, by their discourses, I have perceived their fears and despairs to be such, that it is likely they must fall under the subjection of a neighbour, to the great prejudice of their prince: that therefore I could not chuse but hear what they said, and give account thereof to the King my master. And knowing his Majesty's royal and sincere disposition towards the preservation of an inviolable friendship with your Highness,

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ness, thought it my duty to make this declaration; to the end my actions may appear conformable to his Majesty's pleasure.

Upon which considerations I must humbly beseech your Majesty, that I may know your royal pleasure by an express; for I doubt not but I shall have occasion to return him speedily.

I touched in my dispatch 3-13th October, that the business, forasmuch as concerneth his Majesty's interest in alliance, did require to be watchful of the further proceeding, although the party of the Brabant States (which before did so desperately incline towards France) was so overcome, that his Majesty could not fail to have as much share in the alliance with them as France, if not more.

And whereas I had touched, in my dispatch to his Majesty of the 28-18th October, of the sudden fears the States of Brabant had conceived, from a rumour spread, that his Majesty had sent to Spain offers of a potent assistance, and also to the Infanta; the States pretended just cause of apprehension, having trusted their design to his Majesty. Their desire was, his Majesty would condescend to a comfortable message to be made to their whole body, that so they might be assured of his Majesty's intentions; and because the King of Spain should have no just cause to mistake the said message, they desired it might be in the sense following:

That his Majesty was sensible of the troubles of these provinces, which his Majesty did behold with an eye of tenderness and amity, fixed on the good correspondence of his dear brother the King of Spain; and that, not only by the example of his ancestors, but by a particular inclination to the conservation of good neighbourhood, his Majesty was moved to let them understand his good inclinations to contribute to their comfort, rest, and tranquillity.

The States of Brabant side desired this message as aforesaid, to rectify the opinions of those of their body, which were possessed with fears that his Majesty intended to give a powerful assistance to Spain, whereby these provinces would remain *sedes belli*. That the depu-

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ties at the Hague, possess with these fears, should not be violented to enter into some secret accord with the States of Holland, to join themselves as members of one body; unto which the clergy and nobility of the Brabant side could not resolve, without an apparent danger of ever to be lost. These fears were removed, as in my dispatch of the 11-21st November to his Majesty appeared; and although his Majesty did not judge the message fit until these said States should appear to be in condition, which might take away all jealousy, the said States, as touched in my dispatch of the 4th December to his Majesty, were well satisfied with the said secret answer, esteeming his Majesty's prudence, and royal generous mind, on which they would trust, and approved his Majesty's settled resolution, whereunto they would correspond, in putting on the quality whereby their alliance would be advantageous to their neighbours; so that there remained, for my part, but to be a watchful centinel on the proceedings, and at the instant of their declaration and condition of Free States, to offer them his Majesty's alliance, not to be preceded by France, if possible might be.

I touched, in my dispatch of the 27-17th December to his Majesty, that since the aforesaid dispatch of the 4th of December there appeared nothing in my letters concerning the revolution of these States; which was to be attributed to the great alterations in Germany, causes that the States of Brabant side were incapable of any other thoughts than those concerning the truce, their only refuge and safe-guard.

I touched, in my dispatch of the 8th of January 1633-2 to his Majesty, what followeth:

The main and most confident correspondent being in the country, is the cause I shall not say much for this time, only add to what I touch in my public dispatch. These States have resolved not to suffer themselves to be dissolved. They will take for pretext, that

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their



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their assembly is necessary for the preservation of the State; their treaty of truce taking no effect.

These States have drawn little comfort from the bonfires lately made for the overthrow (as they say) of the King of Sweden's army; taking the said bonfires only as a shew, whereby the Spaniards amuse the common people; not that the state of affairs be for them the better for it; and therefore remain posselt with a panic fear, not knowing to have a safe refuge (in case the truce were not made, and that the Hollanders take the first of the spring to attempt some new enterprize) unless to depute into England and France in the quality of States, and so demand succours of men and commanders, then to make an army of themselves, reduce the same under one commander, which may serve for a defence against all invasions; which design will require more help than consultations, for if they spend time in it, they may be surpris'd sooner than they or their friends may imagine, &c.

I touched, in my dispatch of the 15th of January to his Majesty, what followeth:

May it please your Majesty,

These States have again firmly concluded to declare themselves, in case of necessity, that, the deputies returning without a truce, the first action shall be to publish a manifest. The second, that every one of his own motion shall lay down his offices received from the King of Spain, and remain nobles and States. God be thanked, as hitherto I have not been negligent in the least, I believe not to have been deceived, neither promise to myself of the business any thing, but that your Majesty may see good effects thereof, if the factions among the Hollanders, and particular designs of the Prince of Orange do not hinder them; for certain appeareth a great faction for truce amongst the Hollanders, which party the Prince of Orange doth seem by all industry to support, who could not as yet be brought to contribute really to the revolution, having made himself to

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seek when the necessity was required, without which, these States will never resolve to declare themselves.

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I touched, in my dispatch of the 29th to his Majesty, what followeth:

Your Majesty will understand by my letters to the Right Honourable Secretary Coke, that the deputies are at length departed, and how nigh these States are to shake off the Spaniards; it depending only upon the Hollanders for to stand firm to their former articles, and oblige these to put in execution what the said articles contain.

From the first minute I conceived your Majesty's interest in this business, and that your Majesty approved thereof, I have not been wanting in my duty; and now the Hollanders may make me happy in the success, for it depends on them to stand to the articles, and not to yield to any modification.

I touched, in my dispatch of the 31st of March to his Majesty, what followeth:

Your Majesty will have seen in my several dispatches, what there is concerning the business of these States; the season advanceth, and in case France and the Hollanders should contribute to the revolution by their forces, sudden councils and revolutions would be required; wherefore it seems necessary, in case your Majesty go for Scotland, that I were informed thoroughly of your Majesty's pleasure, upon this point of the revolution. In my former dispatches appears, that these States had purposed, in case the revolution were, to demand 6000 men of your Majesty; and as many of France and Holland, so that in this time and moment, it will be requisite to know what promises to make unto them, for to keep them in disposition to take such designs as may be for your Majesty's interests; promises will be necessary means in this extremity; for if France and Holland should bend for the conquest, it would be too late to prevent them, when they should be in action.

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I touched, in my dispatch of the 9th of April to his Majesty, what followeth:

In my dispatch of the 31st I touched, that in case your Majesty went into Scotland, it were necessary I should be informed fully of your Majesty's pleasure upon the business of the revolution, lest the Holland States that stand for war, might deal with France, and so cause the revolution to go on too swift and violent a pace; since, without a third party's support, they might be conquered. This seemed necessary to be considered, although for as yet the promises of France made to the Hollanders are not so apparent, as that on the contrary those of the Hollander for truce may compass their ends; for if they will not prefer the revolution to truce, either they look for the conquest, or most of them find truce their best match.

These States having made known they would stand to the first design of the revolution; the Holland States finding themselves prest on their first engagements, have declared again, by letters of the 31st of March, that they are resolved to aim at the revolution, and therefore will cause the necessity unto these, for their declaration, at which instant the said Holland States do promise, that all acts of hostility shall cease on their side; and that although the Prince of Orange should be engaged in any important enterprize, that, at the instant of the declaration of these States, actually and verbally performed, the said Prince would quit all for to support these; and therefore the Prince of Orange desired to be informed of the means these have to make good their declaration, to the end the Holland States may the better know how to dispose and govern their army. To the which these States replied categorically as followeth:

That in case the States of Holland and France did cause the fear required (without stratagem or designs of conquest) they would resolutely declare themselves; that, for the means, they were confident the soldiers of the country would take their part; being also assured of the princes, officers, and popular towns, to which forces they

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they would desire the aid of their neighbours; which procured, it were easy to block up the Spaniards in their simple holds and fortresses, since that both the Spaniards and Italians make not in all 6,000 men.

These demands of the States of Holland, and answers of these here, are clear, and of high reach. The offers will be greater if they are answerable, and although it be impossible to warrant the events of such extraordinary revolutions, yet it is necessary to be vigilant, since it may import your Majesty above all others, to have a part in the counterbalance, this State being free, will cause in the body of Christendom; for which consideration I insist still to know your Majesty's intention concerning the said business; and what promises your Majesty thinks fitting to make unto these States, when the time shall require it, being it might be too late then, for to deliberate thereupon.

They have been consulting what pretext your Majesty might take to support them, and not give any subject of jealousy or breach to Spain; and though they are but their first thoughts, yet can I not forbear to touch them, since they, like wise people, seek to desire things that may meet with the interests of their friends. The point then is, assistance of men, without rupture with Spain. The sum of the expedients thought on by them is, That your Majesty might demand of the Emperor and King of Spain, whether they would avouch the Prince Palatine, son of the deceased, who was under the ban of the Emperor, but not of the empire, to be restored and established in his lands and dignities; if they will promise, after the Swedes, who possess the Palatinate, some places excepted, shall have restored the said young Prince Palatine (by accord your Majesty will make with the Swedes) that the said Prince shall, from that instant, be declared for legitimate possessor of his lands and dignities, that they will declare to let the said Prince peaceably enjoy them, since it may

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be easy for the Emperor to satisfy the Duke of Bavaria, were it in augmenting the number of Electors.

If the Emperor and King of Spain refuse this categorical answer, as likely they will, that your Majesty then might take a pretext to give troops unto the Hollanders, under colour to send them into the Palatinate, that so the Spaniards might think your Majesty gives this double assistance unto the Hollanders, till such time as the Upper and Lower Palatinate were restored.

That the General of these troops might be secretly instructed from your Majesty, to go with the Prince of Orange according as the States of Holland shall judge expedient; but that, at the moment of the revolution, he may take the part of these States, and stand for their support; that so both the States of Holland and France might be frustrated of a conquest, if any such they intended, and by this means there would be an English army in the land, and without exception of Spain, who could not but approve that these provinces should not fall under the States of Holland and France.

Your Majesty will be pleased to impute to my duty the length of this letter, which contains the demands and declarations of the States of Holland to these here, and their answer; and their thoughts concerning the manner and means how your Majesty might assist them.

In my former dispatch appears, I have not been too credulous of what the States of Holland have answered upon the point of revolution; yet, as it would be presumption to warrant their actions, so also it seems to require in prudence, to think upon things that may come to pass. If the last demands of the Hollanders, contained in this dispatch, do not proceed out of a secret and contrary design, and if the Spaniards, to prevent them, be not craftier than they might be, to condescend to what they have already demanded, and more if they should ask it, for to have an end of the war, time must discover.

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I touched in my dispatch of the 22d-12th of April to his Majesty, what followeth :

In my dispatch to the right honourable Secretary Cooke, appears the request I make unto your Majesty, for leave to come into England for one week, to settle some particular affairs, which, although they require my presence, is but a pretext, that both here and there it may be thought the subject of my journey ; being at the requisition of these Catholic States at the hour of their crisis, and in necessity to be fully informed of your Majesty's disposition concerning them ; and that having the happiness to see your Majesty, I might touch what is necessary upon their said business. I shall wait for to know your Majesty's pleasure therein.

These former letters do bear, that the Catholic States had taken a resolution to declare themselves free, if the Hollanders did constrain them to it by necessity, it being no work of persuasion ; and therefore the said Catholic States would never be possessed with any other considerations, but what might cause the end of war ; which consideration made them bend to the first point, the sending of their deputies.

They did expect the Holland States would have pressed them on the point of their declaration, to have necessity for a pretext. It appeareth the Holland States have failed on this point ; although by their last letter of the 3d of May, they make a shew to like the revolution ; but the season being so far advanced, their army in the field, the Maeze and Rhyne, and the passages near, to be possessed on the one side, and those of Germany by the French on the other, the Catholic States do apprehend, if the Hollanders reject a truce, that they aim at the conquest, and that the shew they made to desire the revolution, was but a pretext to gain time, and put France to it to assist them powerfully ; and the Catholic States are so much the more jealous of it, having observed that France and Holland have still pressed them upon one point, to know what pro-

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vince, what town, or what Prince, would be for the revolution; which seems to imply, that the designs of Holland and France be to debauch the members, to conquer as much as they can of the body of these provinces. This is so much apprehended by such of the Catholic States who are not French, Hollanders, nor Spanish, but look for comfort from England, as that I have been required to make this journey, to inform myself what his Majesty can or will do for the preservation of the Catholic provinces, in case the Hollanders do not accept the truce, and stand with France for the conquest; which in all likelihood is as facile, as for the Hollanders to accept a truce.

I conceived it to be my duty (his Majesty having condescended to my coming over), to represent again plainly to his Majesty, the estate of those provinces being such, that in case the Hollanders do not yield to an accord, but continue their wars assisted by France, the said Catholic provinces run hazard to be torn by the one, and rent by the other; which his Majesty in his great wisdom knoweth would be prejudicial to his interests.

The reasons which cause this belief of the future ruin of the said provinces, are grounded on the inabilities of the Spaniards to defend them any longer, and the dissatisfaction of the people. For the first, the Spaniards and Italians are not above 6000 men, guided by such as give no cause to believe they are able to resist their adverse party. The Walloons, who make 10,000 men, when it should come to the point, will not fight for Spain; neither those provinces will contribute to the maintenance of the army, their flat denials serving for proofs; and the commanders of the said troops being brothers, nephews, and creatures who wholly depend on the Princes and States of the Catholic provinces; they, and the popular towns of Brabant and Flanders, will, at what price soever, have an end of war; in which consideration is the centre wherein must be reconciled all the reasons which might have obliged the Catholic

States

States long since to express themselves; their reasons being, they could not in conscience, in honour, and with safety, enter in any public or private negotiation with foreign Princes, except the Hollanders and France did cause the necessity for their declaration; which being of the whole body, would free the particular members of the stain of rebellion.

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His Majesty will have observed in all my former letters, with what caution such as are affected to England have given me light of the resolutions, which I have known before they came to effect; of which I have given account in all my dispatches.

His Majesty also will have observed by my several relations, that the said body of Catholic States consists of members, in which, as some are yet Spanish, either out of fear or hope; so some are wholly affected to France; and it hath been my labour and duty to endeavour, that his Majesty might get a part amongst the said States, to counterbalance the French, who headlong, by their despair, did run into the protection of France.

His Majesty will also have observed out of my former relations, that the Catholic States were jealous of some of their members of States, principally of those of Flanders, and some of Brabant, suspecting they might incline to join themselves with the Hollanders; for proof whereof, his Majesty will be pleased to recall to mind, that when the deputies of the Catholic States were sent to Maestricht, although their instructions were to demand a truce, as subjects of the King of Spain, having made choice of the Baron of Swartzenbough, and the pensioner of Namure, both men, for their birth and inclination, not to be gained by the Hollanders; yet, in consideration the third deputy was the pensioner of Antwerp, a town much affected to the Hollanders by reason of hopes for traffic, the Catholic States imparted nothing to them of their secret design to move the Hollanders to cause to the said Catholic States, by arms, the necessity for their declaration.



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To the contrary, they instructed the said commissioners to demand a cessation of arms for fifteen days; and underhand required from the Prince of Orange, none should be granted, fix at the most; and with this categoric answer, that the Holland States would understand to no truce, except the Catholic States declared themselves free; all this on the Catholic States design to free themselves of war. On which point of declaration, the Holland States and the Prince of Orange, since their first printed declaration, have not pressed the said Catholic States; to the contrary, have endeavoured to draw the Catholic States in a treaty; made them hope a modification of the articles projected at Maestricht; did draw the deputies to the Hague, where, although new articles, advantageous to the Hollanders, were propounded, yet did not the Hollanders press that the Spaniards should wholly quit the strong places, neither that the Catholic States should declare themselves free; demanded the contrary, that the Catholic States should be sufficiently authorized by the King of Spain to treat with them; all which might well draw the treaty at length, but not cause a necessity in the Catholic States to declare themselves free. Which considered, the Catholic States became reserved one to another, and so far from trusting their design, that such a one of them who had the greatest inclination to shelter under a potent neighbour, did speak but in general terms, and in the General Assembly did give his voice; as they all often concluded, and as appeareth in my relations, that nothing could oblige them in conscience and in honour to shake off the Spaniards, but necessity; and therefore had appointed the Abbot of the Parc, and of Ypres, for the Spanish journey, to let that King understand what they should be forced to resolve unto, for preservation of their religion and liberty; in case the Hollanders and France should bend for the conquest. All which, well considered, the Hollanders not ignorant of it, this argument seemeth infallible, that either the said Hollanders pretend to accept a truce, in case they can have it at will,

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will, or bend for a conquest, if they can compass it by their own forces, in case the hopes of assistance from France should fail them.

Thus, having touched some particulars which seemed necessary to recollect, that his Majesty might the clearer see the estate of the business, and the grounds whereon the said Catholic States have proceeded; the main point is, to return to what is necessary the Catholic States affectioned to England should be assured of; which is, of what his Majesty can and will do, for the preservation of the Catholic provinces, in case the Hollanders and the French bend for the conquest.

For although from that time I had his Majesty's instructions, containing these words, "And do hereby authorize you to promise them in my name, protection against any body but the King of Spain; and to defend them from him and all the world else from injury;" I have laboured to make a party for his Majesty, to counterpoise the French, made such confident of the Catholic States, sensible of his Majesty's power and good will, on which they do rely; yet do they press to know in secret, by what possible means they can be assisted; and if his Majesty will be disposed to the said assistance, at the instant when necessity should require it; and on this they insist the more they are uncertain of the design of Holland and France; for as they conceive, they may at this last journey of their deputies see the end of war, so the beginning of great evils, which to prevent, speedy help and counsels will be requisite; which caused them to move some expedient, which his Majesty might make use of for to assist them, in case his Majesty made any difficulty in regard of the King of Spain.

So, that as the first expedient, by them thought on, for sending troops towards the Palatinate, passing by Holland under an English commander, might serve to watch on the frontiers, on the time of the declaration of the Catholic States, then to stand for them against Holland and France; so, the second expedient, if his Majesty thought



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thought fit, to offer assistance to Spain, considering the weak estate of the Catholic provinces, which to defend from France and Holland, the said troops might serve.

On this, I take it to be my duty to represent again unto his Majesty, although his journey for Scotland will, perhaps, suffer no time for long consultations, lest to put on foot the means required for assistance, if the deputies return without a truce; yet that his Majesty's offers of assistance may be seasonable and of great effect, if they may be suddenly communicated to the parties, and that they may be satisfied of the likelihood of them, since they question whether his Majesty would make no difficulty to assist them in regard of the King of Spain.

For although such of the Catholic States affected towards England have not declared what security they can give to his Majesty for his troops, if any should enter into Flanders, nor can express themselves on that particular point, before the whole body of Catholic States have declared themselves, at which time they intend to depute in England and France; yet might his Majesty's offers and demonstrations of likelihood of assistance, serve to preserve the party; which otherwise, despairing of assistance from England, will run hazard to join itself with the French, to which their religion might give them cause. His Majesty in his great wisdom knoweth also what other advantages the said offers or expedients may produce. For, as the Spaniards, in hope of assistance, may put by the negociation of truce, which, for certain, the Condé Duca \* would do in hope of some other way, so the Hollanders may put by the conquest.

CHARLES

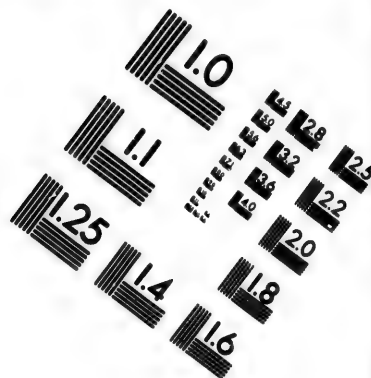
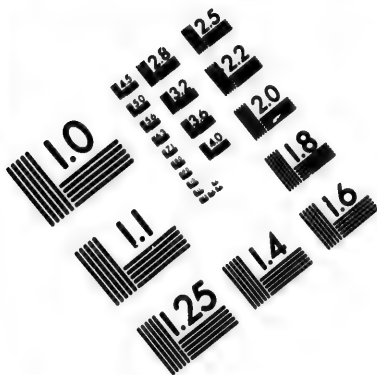
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*Copy of his Majesty's Letter, which he wrote to Mr. Gerbier, Agent at Brussels, all with his own Hand, and was sent presently by an Express.*

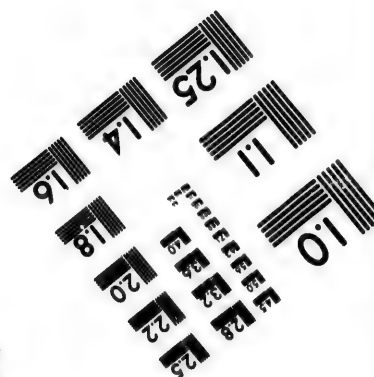
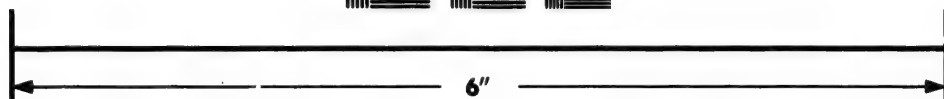
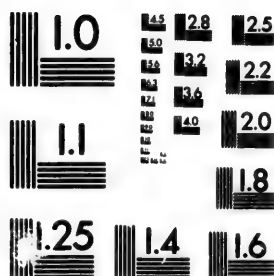
Gerbier,

**Y**OUR letters of the 4-14th of this month were delivered me the 17-27th. Wherein I find as much important business as you made me expect, when you desired leave of me to come over. The business is so great, that even to manage it, I am forced to trust some; yet since secrecy is especially necessary to it, I have thought fit only to trust Secretary Coke with it. Now, as for your direction what to do in this, the first consideration is, that since I am in friendship with the King of Spain, it is against both honour and conscience to give him just cause of quarrel against me, I being not first provoked by him; and a juster he cannot have, than debauching of his subjects from their allegiance. But since I see a likelihood (almost a necessity) that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other King's or States' protection, and that I am offered, without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein; the second consideration is, that it were a great imprudence in me to let slip this occasion, whereby I may both advantage myself, and hinder the overflowing greatness of my neighbours; so that my resolution must depend upon the agreement of these two considerations, which without much difficulty is, That it is neither against honour nor conscience to take the protection of these people into my hands, that fly to me without my seeking; they being forced else to seek to some other King or State for it; and it is so far from giving just cause of quarrel to the King of Spain, that he should rather thank me for it; they being otherwise forced to fall into his enemies or his rebels hands; therefore, upon great consideration, I have sent you.





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you powers to treat with these disguised persons; and do hereby authorise you to promise them, in my name, protection against any body but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world else from injuries. Lastly, to assure them of exact secrecy, that none shall know of the motion, in case we cannot agree upon conditions; but what those shall be, I leave to your hammering, unless with this caution, to conclude nothing, but *ad referendum* to me. So farewell,

From Beaulieu,  
this 21st of August, 1632.

CHARLES, R.

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*Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.*

Sir,

**I** RECEIVED this morning yours of the 21st-11th of August, and have delivered the inclosed to his Majesty. We expect the particular list you mention of the battle at Maefricht, and what was the consequence; because, as yet, we hear nothing thereof (but by general rumour) from Holland, or other parts.

Concerning the great business wherewith you acquainted his Majesty, in your former letters, I now send you such a commission under his hand and seal, as for the time may be expected, and the secrecy not now permitting other formality, which may hereafter be had to give full contentment. For your instructions I shall need to say no more than what is contained in his Majesty's own letter, written all with his own hand, and here inclosed with the commission. The instructions will be made more particular and full, when the parties discover themselves, and when you send word what they offer, and what they do require. Return by this messenger what farther light you can; for the business requireth expedition if Maefricht be  
 † taken,

taken, as by the success of Papenheim's defeat we conceive it is, and thereupon other matters, in probability, will fall out, upon which you must carry a very watchful eye; and with the same care and diligence you have hitherto used, advertise as soon as may be. Specially if, upon the ill success of their affairs, there follow any notable disorder in the Archduchess's countries, and thereupon you discover any preparation or intention in Queen-mother to remove\*, you must, according to your former commission, use all means to divert her, &c.

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*Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.*

Sir,

**Y**OUR late proceedings related in your letter of the 11-21st September, are well approved by our gracious master; who requireth you to continue your negotiations with the same parties, that the intended revolution may not be disposed to serve the turns of others, with his prejudice and neglect, which must not be endured. And considering these new Catholic States find it necessary to have a dependence and protection from their neighbours, you must labour what you can with these men, and such other considerable persons with whom you may get confidence, to rectify their judgments in the choice, and to make them apprehend their conjunction with us to be more advantageous, and less prejudicial than with any other. You may put them in mind, how in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the French King refused to undertake the cause of the Low Countries, because of the offence his neighbours would take at it. Besides, their adhering to that crown, considering their pretensions and power, would prove no freedom, but an absolute subjection in the end. On the other side, the States General and

Sept. 24.

\* From Brussels; probably with a view to England.

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Prince of Orange will not be able to settle them in that peace and freedom which they desire, when both the Spanish, French, and others shall oppose it. It remaineth then that England is their surest refuge, which will best agree both with their ecclesiastical and temporal estates; both which you must endeavour to persuade to be of the same mind; for their churchmen you say are the most active in this change; and if it had not been for the scandal of religion, would have expressed themselves for a treaty with England, before others; but you tell us not who made this objection, and it seemeth strange you said nothing to reform their misprision. For England, in respect of religion, is far more proper for them to join withal, than the United Provinces can be; for howsoever of late they have given their neighbours specious freedom of the catholic religion, yet they have reserved in every town a free church for their profession; and what distraction their continued intercourse, with such a mixture, would breed may easily be conceived. Whereas no such effect can be feared from the English, who, as they enjoy at home their honours, freedoms, and estates without difference, so much less will trouble or restrain men's consciences abroad; nor are so incorporate by language, or by general resort to that nation, that they can be capable to make any change. But, which is more considerable, churchmen amongst the States, have no part in the government or in the laws; neither do their elders comport with our hierarchy of archbishops, bishops, deans, canons, and parish curates. And which doth yet abase them more, they there possess neither glebe-lands nor tythes, nor other stable revenues, but depend altogether upon voluntary contributions, which will bring their rich clergy in short time to a very mean and poor estate. These differences you must infuse into the minds of their ecclesiastics, who are not so mortified that they will not take their own interests to heart, and prefer an alliance in respect thereof. For the nobility and gentry, you may declare at large, on all occasions, how much better it will be for them to adhere to a potent King



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King than to a popular and factious State. Amongst those bores, where all are equal, and capable of the highest places, their honours and degrees can have no pre-eminence, but be subject to the affronts of the baser sort, without civility or respect, which noble minds cannot endure. But from a great King they may not only be assured to be preserved in their honours and estates, but may also hope for preferments and employments, according to their worth and birth. And because the nobility and gentry have greatest interest in the defence of their country for the military part, you may set before them the extent of his Majesty's three kingdoms, and the numbers of martial people he sendeth into all countries, and which have long borne the brunt in all services, and without whom those States, whose aid they now seek, will not be able to preserve them. And for his Majesty's navy, it is doubtless the most potent for defence, offence, or diversion, of any in the Christian world. To come to the merchant part, you are in like manner to infuse, by such as have credit in the chief towns, what profit they may get by drawing in our trade. How Antwerp by it was raised in short time from a village, to the most famous emporium of Europe; and how Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres had their ancient wealth from thence; and how our commerce will bring thither, not only our cloth and our stuffs, and other staple commodities; but all they fetch from the Indies, and other parts of the world, whether our trade is now enlarged. But if they cast themselves upon the Holland scales, they will enable them to engross their trade and wealth. Like offices you may do amongst the soldiers, who, when once the peace is made, will find but cold entertainment in Holland, except the King our master shall lay to his hand. Your own judgment and knowledge of the people, will instruct you how to amplify all these considerations, at least to get a party for this crown. But because the Spaniards are not yet excluded, by the sovereignty and the arms remaining in their hands, you must not, by a total adhering to the faction of the new States,

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either cry down their authority, or neglect their interests, who may well be able to do that there for us which they cannot for themselves. And when they perceive that they must quit their hold, will probably incline rather to depose their right in our hands, chiefly the sea-towns, than to suffer their rebels, or their opposites to carry them by force. In this your dexterity must be employed, rather in drawing on overtures from themselves, than in offering propositions.

What you can work in this, or the rest, advertise from time to time; and be assured, your endeavours are graciously accepted by our Master, and that orders will be taken for your allowances, whereof I am commanded to put the Lord Treasurer in mind, which I will not fail to do. And so remain

Your assured friend to do you service,

Hampton-Court,  
24th September, 1632.

JOHN COKE.

*Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.*

October 6.

**B**UT that which most importeth, is, to observe carefully the resolutions and proceedings, both of the States there assembled, and also of the Spaniards. For both, we have sent you particular directions, by letters by Mr. Taylor. But here we learn by the ministers and friends of the Hollanders, that their treaty with those provinces, will be grounded first upon the pacification of Ghent; and secondly, upon the stricter alliance made afterwards at Utrecht; both tending to incorporate again the seventeen provinces into one body, under one kind of government, and one governor also (as may properly be supposed).

And

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And whether this, in the end, may not prove as inconvenient to the States themselves, of the one side or the other, is considerable for them both; and by you may be represented as occasion shall be fitly offered. For, if by this union, that Governor (strengthening himself with the interests of France, or joining with those two Counts of Berge and Egmond, who, as you write, have already received not only the badges of that alliance, but the command of their forces) shall make himself by degrees as absolute, as the Dukes of Burgundy were in former times; how can it be avoided, that all those provinces shall return to their ancient subjection, and to stand with France in the same terms they then did? It will therefore much import the freedom of those States, as formerly I have observed, not to range themselves under the Prince of Orange, as the other States have done; but have a commander of their own body, if such a one may be found, to keep their balance even. If this be not obtained, you may assure yourself, they shall all come under the Prince of Orange as a conquered people, and receive such conditions as Maeftricht and Limbourg have submitted unto. And as they now stand distracted, it will not be possible for them to escape this growing power over them, without the assistance of a potent Prince speedily to be called in, before all the forces of Spain be cast out. If the Spaniards themselves offered, as you say, that at a pinch they would put their maritime towns into the hands of a neighbour; they are sure enough to be put to that pinch; but if they come not to a speedy resolution, it will be too late. It is written that the deputies have treated upon general propositions, but withal, that Count Henry hath a government allotted him. This, you take no notice of, and it will be necessary to know it, and how far it doth extend. You say the resolution is, "*qu'il faut estre estats Catholiques pour demeurer esgalement entre l'Angleterre & France;*" but you leave out the main point of "*estre libres;*" which if they obtain not, by being also free from the subjection of Holland, they will find themselves

deceived.

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deceived and overreached by those they rely upon. The offer of inland provinces mentioned by the Abbé l'Escaglia, is not otherwise considerable, than that, shewing an inclination to deposit something in our hands, they must needs at length conceive, that neither they nor we can reap benefit of any such deposition without the power of sea towns where to plant our forces. The places he nameth, are those, we hear, which are to be resigned to Count Henry Vandenberg. For the two articles or conditions upon which, you say, a treaty will be accorded\*; the first, to remain under the Spanish obedience, and yet to make a league offensive and defensive in effect against them, includes a contradiction; *Et envers tous, Et contre tous*, is not only against them, but France, England, and the empire; which none of them, without much patience, can endure, without a like league to be made against them. The second article, to put out all the Spaniards, and raze all their citadels, will be a work of time. And though the Spanish Ministers, *font semblant de ployer a tout*, as understanding the offensive to be only in case they shall break the truce of peace; yet even that will leave their sovereignty a shadow, and no substance, wherewith it seemeth they will content themselves, rather than seek help from any other friend. What the issue of this treaty in a neutral place may be, you will observe and advertise. And if these new estates will suffer themselves to be so much overruled, as not to declare themselves *Catholiques & libres*, nor to rely at all upon the assistance or alliance of any King, or other State, save the States General and the Prince, their case is deplorable, and they are made an absolute conquest, and will resent it too late. I have enlarged upon my own sense in this discourse, that your messenger may bring you something, and return with speed unto you. So expecting daily to hear from you, I remain

Your assured friend and servant,

London,  
6th of October, 1632, our stile.

JOHN COKE.

\* With the States, a different scheme from the private treaty with England for protection.

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*Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.*

Sir,

YOUR Secretary will tell you how graciously his Majesty hath given him access; and for the jealousy you mention in your letter, to be conceived by those States, as if Taylor's negotiation were a treaty against them; you might have removed it by telling the true cause of his employment; which was, as I writ unto you, a respectful message concerning the Palatinate; which the Infanta, at his return from Vienna, did commit to his trust; whereupon a treaty against them in any kind could not credibly be collected. For, if that had been intended, the Spanish Resident Nicolaldy, and the Infanta's agent here, had been the proper Ministers to have treated with. Besides, the commission and instructions given to you, to treat for protection of those States, even against Spain, if need required, disproveth sufficiently that contradiction; and is besides, in a degree, that declaration they now require; especially if you inform them further (what you understood by my last letters) that his Majesty hath given order to his agent on the other side, to declare to the States General, to the Prince of Orange, and to their deputies at Maastricht, and in the like manner to their own deputies attending that assembly, that his Majesty requireth to have a part in that treaty; which is in effect as public a declaration as yet they can reasonably desire. For to proceed farther by any publication which might cause a breach with Spain, and offend other neighbours, before any treaty be on foot or resolved, is not counsellable for a Prince that governeth his actions by wise and fit respects. But let them once ground, either by sending order to their deputies at the assembly, to make his Majesty of Great Britain a party to the treaty there, or else appoint deputies to treat elsewhere with him

30th Oct.

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for protection.

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apart; and they shall then see, that no offence shall withhold him from public treating and undertaking their protection, so as they may be freed from that subjection and dependence upon unequal terms, which may be unworthy of them, and in the end will breed offence; as by former instructions you are directed to let them know. For Mr. Taylor, his Majesty believeth, his actions and carriage will clear all suspicion of his underhand dealing to indirect ends. And you also will concur to stop impertinent apprehensions; and to advance his Majesty's service with unanimous endeavours, to which our duties bind us all. If the resolution be taken, as your Secretary hath intimated, to deliver Frankendale into his Majesty's hands, you shall do well not only to encourage it, but to draw it to effect. The good acceptance of your travail in that, and in the rest, may animate you to proceed; and be assured your assignments will be carefully called upon; so I remain

Your assured friend to do you service,

Theobald's,  
30th of October, 1632.

J. C.

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*May it please his Majesty to consider the heads following:*

15th May,  
1633.

*Imprimis,* **HIS** Majesty will conceive (the Hollanders refusing the truce) that either they tend to the revolution or the conquest.

2. It may be supposed, his Majesty conceives the revolution to be as ill as the conquest or truce; his Majesty having no part in the revolution.

3. Certain it is, his Majesty will allow, that of the conquest, truce, and revolution; the revolution is the least evil of the three, and



and that the revolution may be advantageous to his Majesty, having part therein.

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4. Certain it is, his Majesty will allow it to be necessary to hinder the truce and the conquest.

5. The truce may be put by several ways, either assisting the Spaniards, or to negotiate so, that both Holland and France believe his Majesty will contribute to the revolution, under which pretext, Holland and France, as may be supposed, aim at the conquest.

6. The conquest by Holland and France, must be prevented with forces of a third party, to counterbalance them both.

7. The conquest may be as sudden as the revolution or truce.

8. It is then necessary his Majesty resolve, how, when, and where, troops may be sent to make the counterbalance between Holland and France; for though it may be conceived the Spaniards will defend themselves till the last town; yet, that whensoever Holland and France should have divided the best lot, it would be too late for his Majesty to offer his assistance.

It may be conceived his Majesty esteems the revolution as ill as the conquest, having no part in the said revolution.

That it would be necessary to have a place of retreat secure for his troops; which the Catholic States themselves ought to desire for their own security.

It seemeth, these two points will be satisfied; in the first, that the doubt of having no part in the revolution, is removed of itself; since the said States cannot, without a third party, be secured from the Hollanders and French; for if it be supposed that, either by the revolution or conquest, they will become one province with the Hollanders, where are many religions, it is infallible that France can nor will not suffer the Catholic provinces to become one body with the Hollanders; what would the issue be, but that France will enlarge his bounds, to the prejudice of England.

To the second, for place of retreat, it seems needless to doubt of that, which will be of itself, if only a pretext can be found to get

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troops,



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troops, under an English commander, in or about the said Catholic provinces; for the Catholic States, on the point of the revolution, must necessarily cause towns to stand for them, which must be maintained by troops, be they French or English.

The main to resolve on is, the expedient to get troops in or about the said Catholic provinces, who, in the point of declaration, or danger to be conquered, may make a powerful counterbalance, with the troops of the country, to resist the conquest of Holland and France.

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*Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke.*

24-24 June.

Right honourable,

**A**T my return from Stanford to London, where I was to stay for his Majesty's instructions in writing, I advertised my correspondent with the Catholic States, that I was upon my return, and that in the interim he might assure those of the Catholic States which are affectioned to England, of the continuance of his Majesty's disposition for their future protection; for which his Majesty was as willing as able; and therefore the Catholic States needed not fear to be conquered by the Holland army or France; although the King of Spain should not be able any longer to defend them.

I have, at my arrival at Bruffels, fully and plainly remonstrated to my aforesaid correspondent, in the terms of my instructions, his Majesty's real intention concerning the said protection of the Catholic States.

The said correspondent rested well satisfied, and approveth the proposition for a place of surety to be as just for his Majesty to stand upon, as advantageous for the Catholic States; since they may well conceive his Majesty (having set forth on sure ground) will not forsake them,

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them, be their adverse party never so strong. My said correspondent takes upon him to possess those of the Catholic States affectioned to England, with this opinion, and to communicate the same unto those which are absent. Affairs here, for the present, appear with this face, that as, from the beginning of interviews and parlies between Sir Peter Rubens and his correspondents on the Holland side for to compass a truce, the Spanish Ministers thought fit to give way to the negotiation; so, having cause not to incline so much to a parley between these States and those of Holland, the said Spaniards (when the Catholic States were entered in conference with the Hollanders) kept a secret correspondence on foot with some of the Holland side; either to cross the negotiation of the Catholic States, or to make use of the said secret correspondence, when the Catholic States' negotiation should fail, or prove contrary to their interests. And so these Spanish Ministers, affectioned to truce, still make use of Van de Wouwere, one of the commissioners of finances, who was joined with Sir Peter Rubens. This same Van de Wouwere hath been these five weeks at Zevenbergh, under pretence of procuring a pass from the Hollanders; which pass, as he himself saith, he now at length hath obtained; and this upon the instant of the return of the Archbishop of Mechlin, the Duke of Arscot, and Baron Swartsenborough; who had left in Holland four deputies to advertise them of a fit time to repair again to the Hollanders, who, as they think, strive to linger the treaty. These say, some of the Hollanders told, that since they had been at the charges of this campaign, it was fit they should reap the fruits of this summer. The said returned deputies say to have observed, that some of the States on that side have a great inclination to have an end of the wars, and that their people will have the truce. Wherefore the said deputies say to be of opinion (since they find the inclinations on the other side to be such) that it is fit they should put the best face on the present condition, and rather offer the last penny to contribute to their own defence, than for want of

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The Duke of Arscot doth not stick to say, that some of the Holland States have told him plainly, that they were as much troubled with the growing greatness of the house of Nassau, as these have care to be discomforted for the King of Spain's present weakness, or to be weary of subjection. The said Duke of Arscot saith, he made good use of this speech, in acquaintaing the Prince of Orange with it; with design to foment a jealousy, and breed a faction between the States and the said Prince; who, as it is conceived, aims at the government; for none but his creatures, and those of his kindred, are governors of towns, and in eminent offices. The deputies of the Holland States, as these returned deputies say, are gone to the Prince of Orange to give an account of the treaty.

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*Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke.*

Received at Edinburgh, July 1st, 1633, O. S.

1st July.

SINCE my last of the 24th June, the Catholic States here have had several meetings; those which are zealous for Spain, persist to contribute for the defence of the country the best they may; which, as the Spanish commanders say, will run no great hazard this year. They attribute the loss of Rheinberg, to the governor Diestorff. He passed with his troops at Antwerp the 27th of June last; was there invited to dine with the governor of the citadel; and, for the last course, served with a commission for his imprisonment. Herewith goeth a copy of what he is likely to produce in his defence.

As yet, cannot be said, what resolutions these Estates will take. My correspondent tells me, that whensoever they shall find themselves so pressed,

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pressed, as, for to save their religion and liberty they must declare themselves, then one in their name shall be sent to his Majesty. They will make their propositions so as his Majesty shall run no hazard for any assistance they shall demand; and his Majesty, as they say, will have cause to trust them, as they are confident of his Majesty's disposition, and present secrecy. This is all they can say for the present, being unable to judge of their case, till they see what the Prince of Orange intends, and what the Spanish commanders can do\*.

Brussels,  
1st of July, N. S. 1633.

\* The negotiation breaks off abruptly, King Charles could proceed no further with-  
and was not probably kept up much longer, out risking an absolute breach with them,  
as the Spanish Court got scent of it, and

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## No. IV.

*Scotch Troubles, 1637-41.*

[This series of original documents relative to the disorders occasioned by the Scotch Service-Book, the Editor considers as one of the most important parts of his collection. Those unfortunate troubles were the forerunners of our own, and were in their progress, if not in their rise, fomented by the Puritan party at home, and by our neighbours (particularly the French) abroad.

The greatest part require no explanation to those who are at all conversant in the history of that time. The Duke of Hamilton has, in a very obliging manner, permitted the Editor to make use of some papers from the valuable archives of that noble family; the remainder (except the Journal of the Council of Peers, for which we are indebted to the Harleian library) are transcribed from the Paper Office, where they lay dispersed in a number of ill-sorted bundles. They supply some defects which Lord Clarendon, during his retreat at Jersey, seems to have in vain called upon his correspondents to supply.

The Minutes of Cabinet Councils, taken by Secretary Windebank, the Journal of the Conferences near Berwick, and of the Council of Peers at York, will be found to throw considerable light on that embroiled period. King Charles in person, and the greatest men of the time, are the conductors in those important consultations, which were recorded at the very moment they passed. The dispatches from Secretary Vane, whilst the King was in the north in 1640, to his colleague Windebank, are very material, with regard to the facts and anecdotes which they contain, and fill up some

some chafins in the beginning of the second volume of the Clarendon Papers.—Vane has been charged with betraying his master's councils, whilst he was in his service. That he was a bitter enemy to Strafford is certain, and from a very imprudent offence given him by the latter; but the other point is not so clear. He seems to have gone along with the humour of the Prince he served, and the court he lived in (sometimes, perhaps, against his own opinion) till the popular torrent became irresistible, and then he was perplexed and entangled with the consequences of measures he had not originally been the adviser of. His disgrace soon followed; but as his son, the younger Vane, was a leader in the parliament councils, the father seems to have finished his life in quiet and obscurity, though without the esteem of either party.]

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*The Earl of Traquair \* to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

October 19 †.

THE King's pleasure expressed in those two letters written by our new Secretary ‡, came to Edinburgh on the 16th of this instant. The Secretary's Letter to James Primrose, was so peremptory for delivery thereof, at the next meeting of council, that notwithstanding of my Lord Chancellor's || absence, we opened the same, and accordingly gave obedience to every particular, and made proclamations thereupon, the double of all which I have sent to my Lord Roxburgh §, to be seen by your Lordship. The noblemen, gentry, and commissioners from presbyteries and boroughs, seemed to acquiesce herewith, and every man, in a very peaceable manner; to give obedience to the tenour of the proclamations; but the next day thereafter, the town of Edinburgh, or, as our new magistrates

\* Treasurer of Scotland.

† The first tumults were in July 1637.  
The contents of this letter fix it to the same year. Burnet (Hamilton Memoirs, p. 32.)

speaks of the new tumult in October thereafter.

‡ Lord Stirling.

|| Archbishop Spottiswood.

§ Privy Seal.



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call it, the rascally people of Edinburgh, (although the sisters, wives, children, and near kinsmen, were the special actors) rose in such a barbarous manner, as the like has never been seen in this kingdom, set upon the Bishop of Galloway, and with great difficulty was he rescued into the large council-house. This beginning was so continued, that before a course could be taken to secure him, the Town council-house, where the magistrates were sitting upon their own private affairs, was environed with huge numbers of all sorts of people. But because the relation hereof will consume more time in reading than is fitting for me to trouble your Lordship with, I have set it down likewise to the full to my Lord Roxburgh; who will shew it to your Lordship, if you shall think it worthy to be looked upon. The reason of their rising and environing their own magistrates was, as they publickly and confidently affirm, because their magistrates, both before this uproar and in the time of the pacification thereof, had promised to them that they should be the last in all this kingdom should be urged with this book. But because all this is at length set down in the information I have sent to my Lord Roxburgh, I will forbear to trouble your Lordship therewith any farther. My Lord, believe, that the delay in taking some certain and resolved course in this business, has brought business to such a height, and bred such a looseness in this kingdom, that I dare say was never since his Majesty's father's going into England. The King is not pleased to allow any of us to come to inform him; and, after debating with himself, his commandments may be according to the necessity of the time. No man stays here to attend or assist the service; and those on whom he lays, or seems to entrust his commandments in this business, most turn back upon it, whenever any difficulties appear. I am in all these things left alone, and, God is my witness, never so perplexed what to do. Shall I give way to this people's fury, which, without force and the strong hand, cannot be opposed? I am calumniated as an under-hand conniver. Shall I oppose it with  
that



that resolution and power of assistance that such a business requires? It may breed censure and more danger than I dare adventure upon, without his Majesty's warrant, under his own hand, or from his own mouth. My Lord, it becomes none better to represent these things to our Master than yourself; for God's cause, therefore, do it. And seeing he will not give me leave to wait upon himself, let him be graciously pleased seriously and timely to consider what is best for his own honour, and the good of this poor kingdom, and direct me clearly what I shall do; and if I do it not, so far as is possible for one man, let me no more be thought worthy his Majesty's favour, nor be more thought worthy the name of

Your Lordship's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

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*Earls of Traquair and Roxburgh to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

Received at London the 27th of February, 1637-8.

Our very honourable good Lord,

AT the Earl of Traquair his arrival from England, he found the 17th Feb.

Earl of Roxburgh at Edinburgh, newly come from Stirling; where, having concluded with the Lords of Secret Counsels that were there for the time, upon such particulars as were to be thought upon before the farther signification of his Majesty's pleasure by Traquair, he was come to Edinburgh for settling and disposing his own private affairs; that upon Traquair's home-coming, he might return to Stirling, and without interruption attend his Majesty's service.

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And we having communicated together upon such particulars as concern his Majesty's service now in hand, did advertise the Chancellor there, that, with all possible diligence, such of the council as could be conveniently advertised from that place, might be required to attend the council upon Tuesday next the 20th of this instant; and the like course we have taken in writing to all such as live here near to this place. But as we ourselves were this day ready for our journey to Stirling, we have heard of some meetings of noblemen, barons, and others, here in Edinburgh, who, upon some informations (or rather apprehensions) of what might come in Traquair's company, have not only met, and expected more; but, as we are informed, intend to follow us to Stirling. This, we conceive to be of that consequence and importance, that hereupon we have delayed our journey till Monday next; and resolve not only to try the reasons and occasions of their meeting, but also, by all means possible, to dissolve the same.

And if herein we find more difficulty or opposition than we wish or expect, we shall foresee in what our judgment we can think upon to be fitting for securing of the peace in this State; and foreseeing what may be necessary for the preventing of any doubts, or interruptions may be made to the prosecution of his Majesty's service at Stirling; wherein, if we cannot prevail by fair and quiet means, to work the wished effect, his Majesty shall be assured that nothing shall be left undone by us (before we turn our back upon this place), that may be expected from faithful counsellors and affectionate humble servants.

The unseasonableness of both way and weather, and indisposition of the Bishop of Dunblaine, Dean of the Chapel, makes some difficulty in the removal of the service of the chapel to Stirling; but we shall be careful to provide for him, and the gentlemen of the chapel, in every thing which in reason they can demand for their journey; that they shall have no ground or excuse of stay, after the

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20th of this instant. In all which, and every thing recommended to us by his Majesty, we shall use that exact diligence, which in reason may be expected from thankful servants and subjects, and

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Your Lordship's faithful friends,

Edinburgh,  
17th February, 1637-8.

TRAQUAIR,  
ROXBURGH.

## *Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

Please your Lordship,

Dalkeith, February 16th.

**T**HIS inclosed is the copy of the Earl of Roxburgh's and mine, 16th Feb, to the Secretary, to be seen by his Majesty. To it I can add little; for, in effect, by it his Majesty will perceive, how much all sorts and qualities of people within this kingdom, are commoved with the proclamation; insomuch that it is a great providence of God if some mischief do not ensue thereupon, before help can be provided.

Many things have been complained upon, as the petitions presented to the Council, and by the Council to his Majesty, bear; but the Service-book, which they conceive, by this proclamation\*, and the King's taking the same upon himself, to be in effect of new ratified, is that which troubles them most. And truly, in my judgment, it shall be as easy to establish the Missal in this kingdom, as this Service-book, as it is conceived.

The not urging of the present practice thereof, does no way satisfy them; because they conceive that what is done in the delaying

\* Avowing the Book, or *Buke*, as the Scotch called it; but dispensing with the immediate enforcing it.

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1637-8.

thereof, is but only to prepare things the better, for the urging of the same at a more convenient time; and, believe me, as yet I see not a probability of power within this kingdom to force them; and whoever has informed the King's Majesty otherwise, either of the book itself, or of the disposition of the subjects to obey his Majesty's commandments, it is high time every man be put to make good his own part.

The Bishop of Dumblane has gotten his monies, both for himself and the gentlemen of the chapel, and for all the charges in removing thither. I have likewise directed my brother and servants into Edinburgh, to attend; but, for any thing I can be able to do with him, he will not hence, affirming sometimes that he is not able for want of health, and sometimes for fear of harm to his person.

The Earl of Marr's untimely writing to his Under-keeper of Edinburgh Castle, who has the reputation of a great Puritan, has been the occasion of great business, and has made the alarm be taken more hotly than was necessary or fitting at this time.

Your Lordship is likewise to acquaint his Majesty, that little or nothing is done at court, or upon dispatch from his Majesty, whereof they have not (as they affirm, and many times it falls out to prove so) got some intelligence.

My condition at this time is hard; for as, upon the one hand, I am persecuted by the implacable under-hand malice of some of our Bishops, so am I now in no better predicament with our noblemen and others, who adhere to their course; and I may truly say, the Bishop they hate most, is not more obnoxious to their hatred, than I am at this time. But I shall not foolishly give occasion of offence to any; and if, in the prosecution of my Master's commandments, I offend, I must expect the protection of my Master, and the countenance of your Lordship's respect to

Your very faithful servant,

TRAQUAIR.

# STATE PAPERS.

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*The Same to the Same.*

CHARLES

Stirling, March 5th, 1638.

1637-8.

5th March.

THIS bearer \* shall save my pains in writing long letters; to him the estate of this kingdom is fully known, and from him I have kept none of my thoughts.

Your Lordship can best witness, how unwilling I was that our Master should have directed such a proclamation; and I had too just grounds to foretell the danger and inconveniences which are now like to ensue thereupon. It is now high time for your Lordship to represent to his Majesty the height of evils are like to fall upon us, if he shall not be pleased to free the subjects of the fears they have conceived of innovation of religion; and that it is not to be expected from this, that will withstand, far less repress the fury. The † band, whereof the Justice Clerk hath the double, is subscribed by many; and all qualities of people, from all towns of the kingdom, are coming in daily to subscribe.

If his Majesty may be pleased to free them, or give them any assurance, that no novelty of religion shall be brought upon them, it is like the most part of the wisest sort will be quiet; but, without this, there is no obedience to be expected in this part of the world; and, in my judgment, no assurance can be given them hereof, but by freeing them of the service-book and Book of Canons. If the King, for the good of his own honour and service, may be moved to any thing in this kind; I wish earnestly your Lordship should not spare your pains in coming home, and undertaking to do his Majesty's service; but except something of this kind be granted, I know not what farther can be done, than to oppose force to force; wherein whoever gain, his Majesty shall be a loser. Pardon this rude freedom; and what I can say more upon this, or any other Scots subject, is known to the bearer, and that I am

Your Lordship's faithful friend and servant,

TRAQUAIR.

\* The Justice Clerk.

† The Covenant.

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CHARLES

I.  
1637-8.*The Same to the Same.*

Dalkeith, March 22.

22d March.

BY the command which I have from the Justice Clerk, the Council is ordained to meet; and from them I am to receive what farther they can advise concerning the present estate of this poor kingdom; so that this being the 22d, it will be Saturday the 24th before possibly any number of counsellors can meet, and Monday the 26th will be the day of our return from thence to Edinburgh; from whence, God willing, I shall part on the 27th, and in my journey shall use the best diligence I can. In the mean time, give me leave to represent to your Lordship's consideration, if it shall not be fitting to advertise his Majesty, that since he intends to hear some of his faithful servants before he determines upon his resolutions in this so perplexed business, if it shall not be fitting, and the safest way for him not to hearken to private counsel, or trouble himself with new motions or propositions, until we be all together, that having heard every man's judgment and opinion debated in his own hearing, in the deepness of his own wisdom he may resolve upon the best. But this and all that may concern me in all this business, I remit to your Lordship's own consideration, and with the assurance of a true and faithful heart to your Lordship's service, do rest most confident, that, as your Lordship will never be wanting, both by your advice and assistance to what may concern either the King's honour, or the end of the public, so will you never forget

Your Lordship's, &amp;c.

TRAQUAIR\*.

\* All the Scotch ministers of state, except the bishops, were much against the Service-book. Laud complains of them for it, particularly of Traquair, in a letter to Lord Strafford. King Charles's extravagant fondness for Episcopacy led him into many political errors.



*Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

I HAVE sent Sir Thomas Hope's \*, Sir Thomas Nicolson's †, and Sir Lewis Stewart's ‡ answers and resolutions to his Majesty's interrogatories ||, sent down by me, together with a joint letter from the Earl of Roxburgh and myself; wherein we touch no particulars, except that we tell his Majesty the true cause of the advocates, their long delaying of their answers; I have directed all to the Justice Clerk §, to be delivered by him; that either the writings may be redelivered to him; or otherwise, that his Majesty may be advertised to keep them to himself, and to communicate them to as few as he should think fitting. My next desire is, that your Lordship may consider upon them; and to that effect, I earnestly wish your Lordship may be present, when they are delivered. They do not much differ in their opinions; neither know I which of the three are most confident of their own judgments; and yet I must confess to your Lordship freely, I can hardly agree to their opinions in some things; neither can I think the soundest and most understanding judges will in all the particulars be of their mind.

This great meeting \*\*, which was at Edinburgh, is dissolved, but have left commissioners behind them; and have established such an intelligence amongst themselves, that they can meet and come together upon very short advertisement. There are some rascally people in divers towns of the kingdom, who commit riots by their tongues; and some go farther, against some of our conforming Ministers. One

\* The advocate.

† A covenant.

‡ Sir L. S. well affected, as a royalist.

|| These interrogatories and answers are not mentioned in Burnet's Memoirs.

§ The Justice Clerk went up to London.

in March 1637-8. This and the following letter appear to have been writ while he was still at court: probably in April.

\*\* It was then the covenant was signed, and the tables or committees of different orders appointed.

particular



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1638.

particular I have written of to the Justice Clerk, which occurred lately at Lanerk; and for any thing I can learn, they intend to prepare themselves, by all possible means, for the worst; but will not stir\*, except they be pressed with the practice of those things they complain upon. What I have farther written in particulars to the Justice Clerk, I will not repeat here again. As I shall hear from your Lordship of his Majesty's pleasure, I shall faithfully prosecute what is in the power of

Your Lordship's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

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*The Same, to Lord Justice Clerk.*

THE three advocates opinions give me no new grounds to think upon; I find them all three much of one mind; but of them all, the King's advocate is most obscure; and his advice of a precognition†, in my judgment, is dangerous, both for the business itself and for our Master's honour; and my simple opinion is, that his Majesty shall never shew himself in this business, or any particulars that have relation thereto, but upon such sure and certain grounds as he shall be able to carry whatever he intends, or goes about.

They, I mean the petitioners, have written to some at Court, as I doubt not but you have heard before this. They would willingly petition his Majesty, and as I hear, in a submissive way; but without remitting any thing of the subject. But these letters to Court, if you can come by a sight of any of them, will more particularly inform you of their pretensions, than as yet I can.

\* i. e. rebel.

† Examinations taken before a magistrate, previous to a judicial process.

Since

CHARLES

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1638.

Since the multitudes are gone, I shall do my best in the quietest, discreetest way I can, to foresee for every thing that is to be had within this kingdom, for the providing of his Majesty's houses; but I must intreat you to acquaint his Majesty with the true estate of the castle of Edinburgh; for except the Earl of Mar\* come down, or some other course be taken herewith, I dare not say, but when we least look for any such thing, it may be in their hands, who will not be found fitting keepers of such a place in such a time.

As this was written, this inclosed † from these subscribing Ministers, was delivered to me. What answer to give them, or what help or redress to make them, so God may help me, I know not. They have written in the same form to the Chancellor and others, and have likewise sent a supplication to the Council, to be presented on Thursday next; but I fear we be not a number; and if we were, what can we do, until such time as either the people's fury be laid, or his Majesty's authority strengthened by power to resist or suppress the same?

God give you a good success to what you go about; and I pray the God of all wisdom to direct your Master in the right way.

My Lord Roxburgh parts from Edinburgh the 15th of this present, towards his own house, and intends not returning before he be once at Court. I shall still attend until I hear from you; but until I get ground from you, I know not what to do, neither what advice to give, farther than you knew before your parting from this place.

I hope there shall be no stir, until they see clearly what his Majesty intends to do anent their things in question; so that if you find his Majesty inclinable to the Council's advice, I am confident the King's Majesty may take what time he shall think fitting, and may consult

\* Constable.

† This petition is not mentioned in Burnet. These were conforming ministers.

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1638.

whom he pleases, and what way he pleases, without any danger of stir, or public insurrection, so long as nothing is pressed.

I have so much to say, and yet am so confused, or rather perplexed what to write, that I will once again resolve to be silent, until I hear from you; which I wish may be as soon as possibly you can; for believe me, no man's condition is so hard at this time as mine; and I may confidently say, which in some measure was seen to your Lordship's self, that I am put in the same ~~condition~~ by most of them, with the Bishops. But let our Master be pleased once to resolve, by advice of his faithful servants, and if I be wanting to act my part, let me no more be trusted by my Master, nor thought worthy the name of

Your Lordship's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

If the King's Majesty be pleased to hear any of his servants, before he conclude fully what course to take in the prosecution of this business, I remit to your own consideration, if it shall not be necessary to send for Lorne \*. I need not enlarge this point, the reasons are sufficiently known to yourself.

\* Afterwards Marquis of Argyle. A secret covenant then.

CHARLES

I.

1638.

*The Same to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

Holyrudhouse, May 17, 1638.

WE have thought fit to cause to be drawn up two commissions \*, 17th May  
 the one, with a general power, for repressing the present disorders, and doing of what farther shall be found necessary for the good of his Majesty's service; the other, making particular mention of a power of calling parliament, or convening or indicting of general assemblies. Both is necessary to be under his Majesty's hand; and your Lordship may make use of either of them, as you shall find cause.

Every day gives new occasion of regret to all honest hearts, who love either King or country. People's follies, or rather madness, is boundless; and in no subject's actions more madness appears, than in the town of Edinburgh. The pulpits are daily filled with those ministers, who were lately put out of Ireland, who with some of their own, and some such other, as come from other places of this kingdom, preach nothing but foolish seditious doctrine.

Ministers who refuse to read the covenant, are called before their presbyteries, to hear and see themselves deposed; and all this without warrant, or so much as taking notice of their Ordinary †. Gentlemen of good quality refused the benefit of the communion, for refusing to subscribe the band. But it is not now time to bemoan; all honest men's care must be to think upon the best means and ways how to remedy these evils, and restore authority to that full force and vigour which is due thereto.

I cannot say, that since my coming home ‡, I have been able so far to understand the true estate of business, as that I dare adventure to give my Master any new advice in particulars. But I wish from my

\* For the high commissioner.

† i. e. The Bishop.

‡ From Court.

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1638.

heart that the King's Majesty would be pleased to divide the proclamation, or at least allow your Lordship to publish it all at one time, or severally, as your Lordship shall find, after being some time here, may conduce to his Majesty's service. By the first thereof, people's fury will be mitigated; and being brought once to some temper, and quietness of mind, the second part, containing the upgiving of the bands \*, will come more seasonably.

And upon this occasion, give me leave to represent to your Lordship, how necessary it is, for the good of this service now in hand, that your Lordship be not tied to precise and strict forms. The King's pleasure must be the ground of all your proceedings; but either must the King's Majesty be graciously pleased to trust your Lordship with the form and times of acting thereof; or otherwise be assured to meet daily with rubs and difficulties; and so make your Lordship's, or any other who shall have the least hand in the business, condition very hard. And therefore let me intreat, or rather conjure your Lordship, to deal seriously with his Majesty in this point; for I attest God to be my witness, I desire this without respect to your Lordship or any thing else; but merely because I know how much it may conduce to the advancement of his Majesty's service in these difficult times.

I am not very apt to do evil offices to any, far less to my friends; but truly I find the advocate so foolish in many things, and far changed from what I conceived him to be, when I came from Scotland, that I dare not be answerable in my duty to my Master, if I shall not acquaint him herewith (which I must intreat your Lordship likewise to do, as from me). And although I should be sorry that any public affront were put upon him, and especially at this time, that I must advise your Lordship, as a thing absolutely necessary, to have a secret warrant, for one other advocate, in case your Lordship shall find him continue in his follies.

\* Or Covenants.

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1638.

The Earl of Mar is not come here, nor has he made so much as a shew of preparation for his own coming. I have written to him, and am sufficiently provided with victual, and every thing of that kind, that shall be found necessary, both for Stirling and Edinburgh.

I doubt not but your Lordship has heard how forward the north countries are in all their combinations; the covenant read and subscribed in all places; and no where more solemnly than in the church of R.

All those letters which came from his Majesty, or such others, or directions, as I had from your Lordship's self, shall be punctually prosecuted; and he that is not ready with heart and hand to assist your Lordship in this business, God will curse. And so wishing your Lordship a happy journey homeward, and much content when you are here, I rest:

Your Lordship's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

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*Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton:*

July 13. Edinb.

UPON report that some of the King's navy were coming to this Firth of Leith, the Laird of Albar came to my Lord Roxburgh; and being, as appeared, in a great commotion, hardly could he be diverted from putting up fires upon those places they have condescended upon, for advertising of the countries. Much more was spoken, scarce worthy of your Lordship's hearing.



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It seems the Chancellor \* has been moved herewith, for the very next day, towards the evening, he parted from Rosline, and was the next morning beyond Cockburne's-path. The poor Bishop of Galloway is so frightened with his sudden departure, and with the big words were vented by some, upon the report of the King's ships incoming, that I can hardly keep him here.

The King's Majesty has been accustomed by this time, to prick the Sheriffs at Lammas, to the effect they may be presented to the Council Table the first Council day in September. It will be hard, if not in most places impossible, to find any who have not subscribed the covenant; and therefore, the Justice Clerk and I conceive it best, that the last year's Sheriffs should be continued for this subsequent year also. Only Sir William Nisbet, Sheriff for Edinburgh, must be changed in respect of his sickness; and I know none more fitting in that shire, than Sir John Dalmahoy, who, among all the Justices in that shire, is the only man has not subscribed.

The Earl of Montrose, and some others with him, accompanied with Mr. Alexander Henderfon, and Mr. David Dick, are gone for Aberdeen, and intend to keep the same course, for subscribing, and causing people to swear to the covenant, that they have done in other places of this kingdom. It is much to be feared, that those of Aberdeen, who have stood out all this time, shall no longer refuse the common way. The Marquis of Huntley is there, and I have written to him; but I fear it shall not avail.

I hope before this comes to your Lordship's hands, you will have made some good resolution, for settling the peace of this poor distracted kingdom; neither need I add any new arguments to incite your Lordship hereto; for the truth is so well known to your Lordship's self, as it can be better understood by none.

\* Spotswood seems to have behaved without dignity in these troubles, and soon parted with the Great Seal, for 2500*l*. See Burnet's Memoirs, p. 79.



CHARLES  
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1638.

It is no time for any honest heart to think upon himself, or his own particular; if things come to the worst, no man's condition is so hard as mine. If God send us peace, I am confident his Majesty's goodness and justice will soon rectify me, both in his own opinion, and in the opinion of the world; and until he have resolved upon his own service, I shall continue in that way your Lordship left me in, which I know your Lordship will witness to have been such as became an humble and faithful servant, and one who has deserved better than to be run over with such creatures.

Pardon this digression, and believe that although it come from a heart full of grief, yet from a heart faithful and affectionate to my Master (as the end shall make it appear), even in the greatest difficulties can occur to

Your, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

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*The Same to the Same:*

Edinburgh, July 20th, 1638.

**T**HE protestation that was made by the Covenanters against, or upon his Majesty's proclamation, was (notwithstanding your Lordship's warrant, inhibiting all printing without warrant) printed, as I take it, by the printers of the college of Edinburgh; and that your Lordship may consider, and confer this which is printed with that which was given to your Lordship's self, I have sent your Lordship one of them.

Since my last, the Covenanters who are here in town, have discharged the ministers of Edinburgh, who have not subscribed the Covenant, to preach in any of the pulpits of Edinburgh, these two next subsequent Sundays appointed for celebration of their fast. I caused

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caused speak to the magistrates of Edinburgh, but find nothing of them but one inclination to approve of the motion; and so the pulpits of Edinburgh are to be filled, for those two days, with strangers.

Most of the Doctors of Divinity in Fife and St. Andrews, have (as is affirmed) subscribed the covenant this last week. There is much discourse of fortifying Leith, and the harbour thereof, and a proposition made to the town and council of Edinburgh for that effect; and withal, a desire from the nobility and gentry, to them, to send for two thousand weight of powder for the use of their town; but all their motions are delayed, until they see what word comes from Court. But truly, if any of the King's ships appear upon our coasts, or if any soldiers come to Berwick or Carlisle, or preparation made in any of those places, I fear it will breed a great stir here: and it may prove dangerous to some, if timous advertisement be not given thereof.

The people's fury seems rather to increase than diminish, against the Bishops; and if some satisfaction come not, upon the first advertisement from your Lordship, I dare not undertake for Galloway any longer; for the man is timorous, and will not stay where I would have him. My attendance ties me all day in Edinburgh, and so long as these folks are watching and guarding as they do, I hope your Lordship will not think it fit I should be from Dalkeith at night; and he staying in my lodging in Edinburgh, where I have but some very few servants, I think it not so convenient a place for him to stay unto. Howsoever I shall not be wanting to him, nor in any thing I know to be my Master's pleasure, so far as I have judgment, or lies in the power of

Your Lordship's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

# STATE PAPERS.

F12

CHARLES

I.

1638.

## *Marquis of Hamilton to King Charles I.\**

Most sacred Sovereign,

Nov. 27th, 1638.

WHEN I consider the many, great, and most extraordinary favours, which your Majesty hath been pleased to confer upon me; if you were not my Sovereign, gratitude would oblige me to labour faithfully, and that, to the uttermost of my power, to manifest my thankfulness. Yet so unfortunate have I been in this unlucky country, that though I did prefer your service before all worldly considerations, nay, even strained my conscience in some points, by subscribing the negative confession; yet all hath been to small purpose; for I have missed my end, in not being able to make your Majesty so considerable a party, as will be able to curb the insolency of this rebellious nation, without assistance from England, and greater charge to your Majesty, than this miserable country is worth. As I shall answer to God at the last day, I have done my best, though the success has proven so bad, as I think myself of all men living most miserable, in finding that I have been so useless a servant to him, to whom I owe so much. And seeing this may perhaps be the last letter that ever I shall have the happiness to write to your Majesty, I shall therefore in it discharge my duty so far, as freely to express my thoughts in such things as I do conceive concerneth your service. And because I will be sure that it should not miscarry, I have sent it by this faithful servant of your Majesty's, whom I have found to be so trusty, as he may be employed by you, even to go against his nearest friends and dearest kindred.

\* This is a very curious letter referred to length, on account of the personalities in it, shortly by Dr. Burnet, but not inserted at which it was too near the time to publish.

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Q

Upon

TRAQUAIR.

CHARLES

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1638.

Upon the whole matter, your Majesty has been grossly abused by my Lords of the clergy, by bringing in those things in this church, not in the ordinary and legal way. For the truth is, this action of theirs is not justifiable by the laws of this kingdom; their pride was great, but their folly greater; for if they had gone right about this work, nothing was more easy, than to have effected what was aimed at. As for the persons of the men, it will prove of small use to have them characterized out by me, their condition being such, as they cannot be too much pitied; yet, lest I should lay upon them a heavier imputation, by saying nothing, than I intend, therefore I shall crave leave to say this much. It will be found that some of them have not been of the best lives, as St. Andrews, Brechin, Argyle, Aberdeen; too many of them inclined to simony; yet, for my Lord of Ross\*, the most hated of all, and generally by all, there are few personal faults laid to his charge, more than ambition, which I cannot account a fault, so it be in lawful things. But, Sir, to leave them, and come to those whom I conceive it is more necessary you should know, your officers and counsellors, of whom I shall write without spleen or favour, as I shall answer to him at the last day, to whom I must give an account (I know not how soon) of all my actions.

Your Treasurer†, his ambition has been great, and his labouring popularity has certainly prejudiced your service. Nothing could gain him that name sooner, than by opposing the clergy; and the differences betwixt them hath marred all; to which those of the Council did not only hold hand to, but encouraged him to it, as much as in them lay; and here again, I say, they gave too just reason to meet with opposition. He is a most active man, and hath many excellent parts. What his bypast carriage hath been, is as well, if not better known to your Majesty than me; but he doth now labour cer-

\* Maxwell.

† Traquair.

CHARLES

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1639.

tainly what lieth in him, to advance your Majesty's ends; and hath oft solemnly sworn to me, that in defence of episcopal government, he will spend his life and fortune. For those particulars wherewith he hath been taxed, as being guilty of abusing your Majesty, in the execution of his place, as Treasurer, he will, in my opinion, justify himself. Howsoever (considering these present times) you must make use of him, and your Majesty should be wary of giving him discontent.

As for my Lord Privy Seal \*, I shall not need to say much of him, he being so well known to your father (of blessed memory) whose judicious character of him to yourself, is so true, as I shall neither add nor pare. He hath likewise declared himself to me, for episcopal government; but I like not his limitations; yet you must make use of him, for he is a powerful man in this country.

The Marquis of Huntley is unknown to me, more than in general; but much disliked is he here (yet not the worse for that) traduced not only to be popishly inclined, but even a direct Roman Catholic; nay, they spare not to tax him with personal faults. But howsoever, this I am sure of, since my coming here, he hath proved a faithful servant to you; and I am confident will be of greater use, when your Majesty shall take arms in your hand.

The Earl of Argyle is the only man now called up as a true patriot, a loyal subject, a faithful counsellor, and above all, rightly set for the preservation of the purity of religion. And truly, Sir, he takes it upon him. He must be well looked to; for it fears me, he will prove the dangerourest man in this State. He is so far from favouring episcopal government, that with all his soul he wishes it totally abolished. What course to advise you to take with him, for the present, I cannot say; but remit it to your Majesty's serious consideration. The information which you have had from Antrim, the most part of it I take to be true.

\* Roxburgh.

Q. 2

Perth

tainly

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I.  
1638.

Perth hath been taxed to be a Roman Catholic; but I find him none. A loyal heart he hath, but no great politician, nor of much power out of the Highlands, and should be encouraged, because he may contribute to the curbing of Argyle.

Tullibardin, I take him to be honest; your Majesty knoweth his abilities. He is a true hater of Argyle.

Wigton, thanks be to God, hath no great power; for if, he had it, it would be employed the wrong way. Sorry I am for it, his ancestors have been so dear friends to mine.

Kinghorn, I am grieved for his weakness. A good man he is, but totally misled by his brother Albar, who will succeed in his place, he having no children. Too near of kindred he is to me.

Haddington has too much the humour of these times; but he hath oft sworn to me, he will never ask what your quarrel is; yet few of his friends I fear will go along with him in it, in defence of episcopacy.

As for Lauderdale, he is a man of no great power; but he is truly honest, and most rightly set in all that concerneth your service.

Southesk hath, beyond all expectation, shewn himself forwardly stout in all that hath concerned your service, ever since my coming first to this country. He is a man of great power, rich, and was extremely beloved; but now as much hated. He doth deserve your Majesty's favour, on my word; and, if not for one consideration, none were fitter to be Chancellor, which I shall advise your Majesty not to dispose of till these troubles be past.

Kinnoul, for his part, hath shewn himself both true and forward in all your service; in whom your Majesty may have confidence; according to his power.

Finlater, according to his power, hath done his part, as I hear by the Marquis of Huntley.

Linlithgow, if his power were according to his affection, he would be useful to you.

I must



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I.  
1638.

I must not forget Dalzell, who both is of power to serve you, and has most faithfully done it.

As for the rest of the Council, they are either of no power to serve you in this time, or totally set the covenanters way. For brevity I pass them by, and have sent a list of the whole Counsellors names.

If the Justice Clerk \* were not so near me as he is, I would say more of him than now I will; yet pardon me for saying, an honest soul lives not.

The Advocate † should be removed, for he is ill disposed. I know none so fit for his place, as Sir Lewis Stewart. My Lord Treasurer's friend he is; Sir Thomas Nicolson being no ways to be trusted in what may concern the affairs of the church.

Now, for the Covenanters, I shall only say this in general, they may all be placed in one roll as they now stand. But certainly, Sir, those that have both broached the business, and still hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudoun, Yester, Cranston. There are many others as forward in show; amongst whom none more vainly foolish than Montrose. But the above mentioned are the main contrivers.

The gentry, boroughs, and ministers have their ringleaders too. It will be too long to set down all their names. Those who I conceive to be most inclined, the Clerk Register (who is a faithful servant to the Crown) if I miscarry, will give you information of them; yet, I fear him, poor man, more than myself. But they are obvious and known to all.

This is all that I will say concerning the persons of the men in this kingdom; wishing Sir, with my heart, those whom I misdoubt, I may be deceived by their future carriage, and that their loyalty may appear, which will blot out of your Majesty's memory what my duty and fidelity to you has caused me to write thus of them.

\* Sir J. Hamilton.

† Sir Thomas Hope.



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It is more than probable, that these people have somewhat else in their thoughts than religion. But that must serve for a cloak to rebellion, wherein for a time they may prevail; but, to make them miserable, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, I am confident your Majesty will not find it a work of long time, nor of great difficulty, as they have foolishly fancied to themselves. The way to effect which, in my opinion, is briefly thus.

Their greatest strength consists in the boroughs; and their being is by trade; whereof, a few ships of your Majesty's, well disposed, will easily bar them. Their chiefest trade is in the eastern seas and to Holland, with coal and salt, and importing of victual, and other commodities from thence; whereof if they be but one year stopped, an age cannot recover them; yet so blinded they are, that this they will not see. This alone, without farther charge to your Majesty, your frontiers being well guarded, will work your end. This care should be taken, that when particular boroughs can be made sensible of their past errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, they be not only then not barred from trade, but received into your Majesty's favour and protection.

In my opinion, your ships would be best ordered thus, eight or ten to lie in the Firth. There should be some three or four plying to and again betwixt the Firth and Aberdeen, so long as the season of the year will permit them to keep the seas; and when they are not longer able, they may retire into the Firth; in which there are several places in which they may ride in all weathers.

Those ships that lie in the Irish seas, will be sufficient to bar all trade from the west of Scotland. The fittest places are between Arran and the coast of Galloway. When the weather is foul, there is an excellent road in Galloway called Lochyen; and another in Arran called Lamfash, or the Holy Island; where they may ride in safety. This is all I shall say concerning the barring them of trade.

This will certainly so irritate them, as all those who within this country stand for your Majesty, will be in great and imminent danger.

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danger. The best way, that for the present I can think on to secure them, and to make some head for your Majesty, is, to appoint the Marquis of Huntley in the north, your Majesty's Lieutenant; with full power to him to raise such and so many men, as he shall think convenient for the defence of the country. By this means, there being a head, those that are in the north will know to whom to repair; and there is no doubt but in those parts they will do well enough.

For those that are besouth the river Forth, I apprehend their danger most; and I would advise that there were lieutenants likewise appointed, to whom they might repair. Necessity will force your Majesty upon one of two, either Traquair or Roxburgh; or, indeed, both, for they may both have commissions. They may be well furnished with arms, and other things necessary, from England, by land, both their fortunes being near adjacent to Northumberland; and though I fear they will not be able to make a body of an army, yet necessary it is that lieutenants should be, and I know none so fit as these in those parts; for I will never think they have traitorous hearts.

Certainly necessary it is for the government of this kingdom, that a commissioner or deputy should be in it. For experience hath taught me, that your Majesty will never be well served by your council, unless there be some one or other amongst them on whom the chief care must lie. If your Majesty do not first settle the country, and reclaim it, whosoever you shall employ, will never be able to do any thing. Therefore that should be done, before any new commission be given; and even then, where you will find a man, I cannot possibly say, unless your Majesty send the Duke of Lenox. As for the Marquis of Huntley, certainly he may be trusted by you; but whether fitly or no, I cannot say. If I keep my life (though next Hell I hate this place), if you think me worthy of employment--

CHARLES I.  
1638. employment, I shall not weary till the government be again set right; and then I will forswear this country.

As for your Majesty's castle of Edinburgh, it was a most shameful thing it should have been so neglected. I cannot promise that it shall be defended, yet I hope they shall not take it, but by an hostile act. Some few men I have stolen in, but as yet cannot get one musket put there, nor one yard of match. I have trusted, for a time, the same man that was in it, and perhaps your Majesty will think this strange that I have done so; yet necessity forced me to it. For thither Ruthven would not go, without arms and ammunition; and indeed he is not to be blamed therefore; but, Sir, I have that in working, that, if I can accomplish, may for a time secure that place. And for my trusting that man, I can only say this, that if he deceive me, we were in no worse condition than when it was in Lord Marr's hands; safe only, for the giving him 2000 l. which, if lost by the default of him whom I have trusted, your Majesty shall not be burthened by the payment of this money, for I deserve to lose it for my confidence. He is no Covenanter, and hath solemnly sworn to me, to lose his life before he quit it.

As for Dunbritton, the way is easy to put as many men there as you please, with victual and ammunition; from Ireland they must come, and at the castle they must land; 100 men will be sufficient, provided with ammunition and victual for three months; and the sooner this be done the better.

Thus, Sir, your Majesty hath the humble opinion of what I conceive of the affairs of the kingdom. What I have said, I humbly submit to your Majesty.

I have now only this one suit to your Majesty, that if my sons live, they may be bred in England, and made happy by service in the court; and if they prove not loyal to the crown, my curse be on them.

I wish

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I wish my daughters be never married in Scotland. I humbly  
recommend my brother to your favour.

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Thus, with my hearty prayers to God, that he will bless you with  
a long and happy life, and crown all your intentions with a wished  
success; which I hope to live and see effected, notwithstanding of all  
the threats that is used to

Your Majesty's, &c.

Glasgow,  
27th November, 1638.

HAMILTON.

## *Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

Falkirk, Nov. 30th †.

I COULD not find the Earl of Argyle yesterday at his own  
house; and being unwilling to go from Glasgow before I saw  
him, I came to the Lord Boyde's lodging, where I was told he was,  
with the Lord Loudoun and some others. He resolves to stay still in  
Glasgow, some time at least; and during his abode there, will haunt  
the assembly, and be careful to make them go on in such a way as  
shall be justifiable.

The Service-book will be condemned in general, as repugnant to  
the tenets of this church; episcopal government, as not agreeable to  
the government thereof; and presently all the bishops of this king-  
dom are condemned, and presently excommunicate.

The Lord Loudoun acknowledges one of the papers, your Grace  
produced in the assembly, but the certificate refused; the same was  
required of me, which at the kirk-yard entry I acknowledged and  
declared to be such as became an honest man; for truly, if I should  
say otherwise, I should deny truth and my own judgment. And if I

† This is in 1638, after the assembly was dissolved.

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should subscribe any covenant or confession, which, in my judgment, excluded episcopacy or episcopal government, I behoved to subscribe against the light of my own conscience; and this I declared publicly, as I shall do while I breathe.

This morning the Lairds Carberry, Nidrie, and Colintone, with John Smith of Edinburgh, parted from this, about four in the morning, to attend my coming to Edinburgh, for protesting against the proclamation; which they expect at the cross of Edinburgh.

As your Grace shall be pleased to honour me with any of your commandments, I shall not be wanting with the uttermost of my power; and without consideration either of life or fortune, shall witness myself to be

Your, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

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*Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

Holirudehouse, Jan. 5th, 1638-9.

5th Jan.

**T**HOSE Covenanters who were here at Edinburgh when your Lordship parted from this place, have hitherto continued their meetings very assiduously. They have concluded their petition, and are to send it up, as I am informed, with one Mr. William Cunningham or George Windrame, one of which parts upon the 7th or 8th of this instant. I could not, by any means, procure a double of it, only I was allowed to read it once over, in one of their own hands; and, to my memory, it begins with a relation of the King's favour and goodness in giving them a free assembly; which they enlarge with many good words, yet, after, complain of your Lordship's carriage in striving, before the assemblies, to use proclamations, whereby to prejudice the freedom thereof; and that, at the

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the said assemblies, your Lordship did always cross their fair procedures, with protestations and such other acts, and at last not only left them without any just cause given by them, but discharged their further sitting. And in the third place, they gave the reasons of their not rising and obeying the proclamation, and strive to enforce this by arguments of reason, conveniency, and practice. And in the fourth place, they pretend to demonstrate that all the acts are grounded upon the uncontroverted laws and customs of this kirk, as appears by the records and registers of lawful assemblies, which, by God's providence, they make to be recovered. And thereupon concludes that his Majesty may be graciously pleased, in the subsequent parliament (of the sitting whereof, by the petition, they seem most confident), to approve what they have done in this assembly; with many assurances of their loyalty and fidelity to his Majesty, and of the truth and sincerity of their intentions to sovereignty. The petition is to be directed to your Lordship, and in case of your refusal, at some conveniency, to his Majesty's self immediately. Their acts, and whole course of their assemblies, is at the press, and is almost ready for the public, both in English, French, and Latin. It is like to prove a large book; for therein they not only condescend upon their own acts, but therewithal cite the acts of all former assemblies, which they conceive conduce to their ends. The double of all which, and of their protestations against the last proclamation, and against your Lordship's declaration, and their answer to the bishops their *declinator*, will come in his company who carries the petition.

They have given order, that throughout all the particular kirks of the kingdom, intimation shall be made of the excommunication of the bishops, and other censures against those who are not excommunicate. As also, that a solemn day of thanksgiving, for the happy success and conclusion of this assembly, be kept throughout the whole kingdom, with a general exhortation to all, to reverence and give obedience to the same; and who shall refuse these or any



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of them, the committees in these places are to take order with the disobeyers. And truly it is much to be feared, that they shall not find many who will refuse or disobey them; such a general terror possesses the hearts of all, and so few there are at this time to stand out, or to deal with others to that effect, that there is small hopes of doing good. They have given order for a general *drilling*\* throughout the whole kingdom, and to this purpose have drawn in all the commanders they can. The kingdom is divided into quarters, and the quarter into more or fewer subdivisions, as the same is populous or spacious; and some appointed accordingly for attending this service under them, and by whose directions all men in those bounds are to appear, at a particular place for the rendezvous to each commander. This course is presently to begin; and by this means they intend to have an army still on foot, until they see what conclusion the King takes. For they, who by the aforefaid orders come first to any of the rendezvous, are to stay together a fortnight, twenty days, or a month, according to the order set down; and as they are dismissed, or ready to be dismissed, others of that division come in their room, and this always upon their own charges. They talk so confidently hereof, and of the order to be kept, and of the readiness of the subject to undergo both the charge and trouble of all this, and so much has intervened by expectation, in all the passages of this business, that I forbear, or rather do not dare to give my judgment or opinion of the probability of the success hereof. They resolve to part from hence about Tuesday or Wednesday next, and every man to go to those places, where he has most power, for assisting and seeing put in execution the forefaid orders; and a new solemn and general meeting appointed, to be here at Edinburgh, some fourteen or fifteen days after this; the precise day I have not yet learned, but, with the next, I hope to be able to resolve your Lordship of this, as I shall of what else comes to my knowledge.

\* This means training.



The writers and advocates are the only men busy here in this time in drilling; and of the writers, I dare say, the most of them spend more upon powder than they have gained these six months bygone with the pen. Some of the session have been tempted with passing of bills upon the acts of assembly, but nothing yet done; and I hope the best; howsoever, nothing shall be left undone that lies in the power of

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Your Lordship's, &amp;c.

TRAQUAIR.

*Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windebanke.*

Sir,

York, April 9th.

SINCE my arrival at this place, I found opportunity to acquaint 9th April. the King with the dilatory answer I received from my Lord Deputy\*, and did endeavour to declare the misfortune and ruin that would speedily fall upon me thereby, with many other circumstances, as I thought effectual; but I find I was so failing in my intended expressions, that I cannot give you a particular account of his Majesty's gracious intentions towards me. Finding my brother† upon his return to Berwick, I resolved to lay aside all private interests, and with my best endeavours to attend a service of that importance.

It may be easy work for my Lord Deputy, with his power and other abilities, to make large objections to divert his intended favours; but after three years time I cannot imagine what new ones can arise; but this I will affirm upon my life, that I require nothing

\* Wentworth, created Earl of Strafforde about the end of this year.

† Earl of Essex.

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The

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but what is due to me, both in honour and justice; and already, since my father's death, I have spent in the King's service, and been prejudiced by this delay, above sixteen thousand pounds, which, with my former engagements, may well sink a better fortune than mine.

Sir, I am confident his Majesty will have a careful regard of me; and I am no less assured of your favour, having already found the good effects thereof; and the present condition I am in, is so well known unto you, that it were a needless repetition to say any more, but that there is no possibility to preserve me from ruin, but his Majesty's speedy direction to have his former commands put in execution, without further dispute or delay. And, if it do not appear to be too great a presumption, I should humbly beg that it might be expressed, in a line or two by his own royal hand; and if it shall hereafter really appear, that any thing now confirmed unto me, shall be of more advantage to his service to be otherwise disposed, I shall hereafter most dutifully and readily resign or exchange them, upon any conditions that his Majesty shall think fit to impose upon me. But if it be my destiny not to find a preservation where I thought myself secure, I had rather it should fall upon myself than some others, having a mind prepared to bear all misfortunes, and a fidelity not to be shaken; and which is so hereditary a right settled in me, that no power nor spleen can rob me of it. Haste, and many confused thoughts, must plead my pardon for all faults herein.

Sir, without further ceremony, you shall ever constantly find me

Your most thankful and assured friend and servant,

York,  
the 9th of April, 1639.

ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE\*.

\* This Lord was a person of honour, good sense, and loyalty. The Earl of Strafforde (who made himself more personal enemies than any minister ever did) used him hardly; having formed a plan of getting his estate into the crown, by declaring his patents and grants void, or voidable. (See Strafforde's

Letters, vol. ii. p. 155.) Notwithstanding this very severe treatment, he acted with zeal in defence of the English interest, against the Irish rebels in 1641, &c.; and had he been better supported, would have done more service.

If your leisure will permit, it will add much to your favours, to let me hear something from you; for all my private affairs now are at a stay, and from Berwick I intend a dispatch thither.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Sir,

BEING to intreat the favour, by your means to have this in- 14th April.  
closed safely and speedily conveyed, I held it a necessary part of my respects, to give you some information of affairs here, though it be an addition of trouble to you, receiving them more exactly from far better hands. My brother of Essex arrived here upon Good Friday night, accompanied with divers volunteers, but not many of quality, besides my Lord of Faulkland, and my Lord Garrat. We have yet met with no enemies, but what are constant to this place, snow, hail, and violent northern winds, which keep back the main part of our victuals and munition. Our garrison consists of 2500 men, or thereabouts, besides volunteers, their horse troops, and servants, and fourteen pieces of ordnance. We are confident to make good this place against all forces that can come from Scotland, until the King's army be ready, which will not be so soon as expected, or my Lord of Lindsay's arrival, who is designed for this government. We shall have some leisure to repair the ruins that time and neglect have wrought here; General Lesley being not yet returned to Edinburgh since Aberdeen was rendered to him, without a blow struck, according to former example; and that by his learning and oratory, he hath wrought upon the tender conscience of Marquis of Huntley to swear the Covenant; by which you may know how the 3000 arms, sent to his assistance, will be employed. There is a speech that all differences will be accorded between his Majesty and his

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RICARDE \*.

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his good subjects of Scotland; but that being above our understanding here, we are only to attend our charge. I do not find that their force or ability is answerable to former reports, they relying most upon the differences and supposed present defects of this kingdom.

I am in expectation to hear from court what will become of my unfortunate affairs, leaving a letter behind me for Mr. Treasurer †, who was not then come thither. I have too far enlarged your trouble, and will therefore avoid to mention any particulars of my own, more than to repeat the constant profession of being

Your most assured friend to serve you,

Berwick,  
Easter-day.

ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE.

*Countess of Westmorland to Francis Windebank.*

6th May.

MY noblest friend, into whose hands I dare put my life, and to meddle in things above us, is dangerous; but my interest; and the children unborn, enforceth me to utter my mind. The Scots have most insolently urged his Majesty to this unsupportable way of revenge, which seems yet nothing at all to work upon them, as men without the fear of God, as well as of their lawful King, yet not without shews sometimes of desiring reconciliation; which some, tendering only the King's honour (which, I confess, is deeply concerned to reduce them totally to his will), it seems, counsel him altogether to reject. But if his Majesty cannot be repaired by this way, without hazard to his State, they may have more thanks in the end, both of the King and this kingdom, who advise to lay hold of every overture of peace, though, for the time, his Majesty, out of his love to both, do a little more suffer, in point of honour, than right or

† Sir H. Vane.

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reason requires, and, in true policy, may bring to pass, without hazard, that which force cannot do at present, but with hazard. The Scots have many spies which flock about the King; and they cannot but know how the state of this kingdom stands, and be encouraged; knowing how uncertainly a war will be maintained out of prerogative, imposition, and voluntary contributions. They know our divisions, and the strength of our combinations; and that they have a party amongst us, and that we have none amongst them; and they are a people that can live of nothing, and we that can want nothing, without discontentment and mutinying; and our men and horses so unused to war, that if his Majesty should attempt any thing, before they be better exercised, the dishonour is likely to be increased, and the consequence, the ruin of this kingdom. When things are brought to an ill pass, a bad composition is better than a worse. The King trusts and employs men of that nation, and you see how some of them have served him; and still things go from bad to worse, and I am persuaded, that they will not mend, till all things only for accommodation be taken hold of; passing by things which aggravate, and employing temperate men of our own nation, upon meetings of treaties; by which it may appear, his Majesty intends to govern no other ways but by the laws of that kingdom, the contrary whereof they have divulged to be the cause of their wicked rebellion. And if they and the world may be satisfied in that, it will be his Majesty's great honour to pass by and pardon what is past; not by compulsion, but out of his abundant love to both kingdoms, over whom God made him a father. They say, the women in Scotland are the chief stirrers of this war. I think it not so shameful for women of England to wish well to these nations, whether it be by word or writing; yet, I pray you, when you have read this letter, to burn it, that it may not rise up in any body's judgment but yours, against me, to tax my zeal with ignorance or arrogance, who would willingly sacrifice my own

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life to the quenching of this fire; and I humbly pray God so to inflame all you, whom he hath set in place of Council, that you may advise, without fear of displeasing, for the peace of this kingdom; and so to his blessing I refer it, and rest

Your true friend and humble servant,

Apthorp,  
6th of May, 1639.

M. WESTMORLAND \*.

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*Pacification of Berwick.*

At his Majesty's camp, the 8th of June, 1639.

**H**IS Majesty having understood of the obedience of the petitioners † in reading his proclamation, as was commanded them, is graciously pleased so far to condescend unto their petition, as to admit some of them to repair to his Majesty's camp, upon Monday next, at eight of the clock in the morning, at the Lord General's tent, where they shall find six persons of honour and trust, appointed by his Majesty, to hear their humble desires.

JOHN COKE.

But this reference under Mr. Secretary Coke's hand, being not held sufficient to assure the safety of the Commissioners; his Majesty was again solicited to sign their safe-conduct under his own hand. Whereupon the self-same form, which had been signed by Mr. Secretary Coke (*mutatis mutandis*) was again returned them upon Sunday night June 9th, signed by his Majesty. By which, esteem-

\* The writer of this very sensible and prudent letter was Mary, sole daughter and heiress of Sir A. Mildmay, of Apthorpe, in Northamptonshire. She was wife to Sir Francis Fane, Lord Despencer, created Earl of Westmorland, by James I.

† The Scotch petition presented to his Majesty by the Earl of Dumfermline on the 7th of June, and his Majesty's answer returned the same night by Sir Edward Verney, Knight Marshal, being already printed in Rushworth, are here omitted.

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ing themselves assured, the Scottish Commissioners, upon June 10th, sent word of their coming; which accordingly they did June 11th, being Tuesday, about 10 in the morning, repairing to the tent of the Lord General\*.

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News being brought of their coming, his Excellency, with the rest of the English Commissioners, went some twenty paces from the tent door, to receive them. His Excellency's tent was guarded by his own troop of horse, then led by Sir John Digby; and his own company of foot, commanded by Sir John Beaumont; as also by the troops of dragoons of Sir Francis Howard, and Capt. Vaughan, both commanded by Col. Trafford, colonel of the dragoons.

His excellency's tent was also guarded round about by divers gentlemen, that trailed pikes in his own regiment, that no man might come within the length or compass of the cords, or so near as to hearken.

Council at his Excellency the Lord General's tent, the 11th of June, 1639.

Present.

His MAJESTY,

The Lord General,

Earl of Salisbury,

Earl of Essex,

Earl of Berkshire,

Earl of Holland,

Mr. Treasurer.

Mr. Secretary Coke,

Earl of Rothes,

Lord of Loudon,

Earl of Dumfermline,

Sheriff of Tiviotdale.

All these Commissioners being set in the room of consultation, my Lord General began to speak. Whereupon instantly his Majesty came in, unexpected peradventure to the Scottish Commissioners; who being set, all four, on one side, with their backs to the tent door, his Majesty passed by them without taking notice of them,

\* Earl of Arundel.



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neither did they kneel, only the Earl of Rothes made some offer, as if desirous to kiss the King's hand; but his Majesty taking his chair on the further side of the table, all the Commissioners stood up; and the King commanding all out of the room that were not Commissioners, namely the Lord Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Duke of Lenox, and some Lords that waited on his Majesty, began to speak, so near to this purpose, as could, by notes or memory of some present, be collected.

*The King.*

My Lords, you cannot but wonder at my unexpected coming hither; which I would myself have spared, were it not to clear myself of that notorious slander laid upon me, That I shut my ears from the just complaints of my people in Scotland; which I never did, nor shall. But on the other side, I shall expect from them, to do as subjects ought; and upon these terms I shall never be wanting to them.

*Rothes.*

To this the Earl of Rothes made answer, but with a low voice; that his sentences could hardly at any distance be understood. Thus much in general was collected, that the effect of his speech was a justification of all their actions.

*The King.*

My Lord, you go the wrong way in seeking to justify yourselves and actions; for though I am not come hither with any purpose to aggravate your offences, but to make the fairest construction of them that they may bear, and lay aside all differences; yet, if you stand upon your justification, I shall not command but where I am sure to be obeyed.

*Rothes.*

Our coming is not to justify our actions, or to capitulate, but to submit ourselves to the censure of your Majesty; if so be we have committed any thing contrary to the laws and customs of our country.

The

*The King.*

I never took upon me to give end to any difference, but where both parties first submitted themselves unto my censure; which, if you will do, I shall do you justice to the utmost of my knowledge, without partiality.

*Roths.*

Our religion and conscience is now in question, which ought to receive another trial. Besides this, neither have we power of ourselves to conclude any thing, but to represent it to our fellows.

*The King.*

If you have no power to submit it to my judgment, go on with your justification.

*Roths.*

This is it which we desire, that thereby the subjects of both kingdoms may come to the truth of our actions; for ye know not the reason of our actions, nor we of yours.

*The King.*

Sure I am, you are never able to justify all your actions; the best way therefore were, to take my word, and to submit all unto my judgment.

*Roths.*

We have reason to desire liberty for our public justification, seeing our cause hath received so much wrong, both in the foundation, relation, and in the whole carriage of the business.

*Louden.*

Since your Majesty is pleased to dislike the way of justification, we therefore will desert it; for our purpose is no other but to enjoy the freedom of that religion, which we know your Majesty and your kingdom do profess; and to prevent all such innovations as be contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and all alterations of that religion which we profess. Which finding ourselves likely to be deprived of, we have taken this course, wherein we have

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have not behaved ourselves, nor proceeded, any otherwise than becometh loyal subjects; and as we are bound to give account to the high God of heaven, our sole desires are, that what is point of religion may be judged by the practice of the church established in that kingdom; wherein we seek God's honour in the first place.

*The King.*

Here his Majesty interrupted this long intended declaration, saying, That he would neither answer any proposition which they made, nor receive any, but in writing.

Then they withdrew themselves to a side table, and wrote this following supplication.

The humble desires of his Majesty's subjects in Scotland.

First, It is our humble desire, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to assure us, that the acts for the late assembly holden at Glasgow, by his Majesty's indiction, shall be ratified by the ensuing Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, July 23d, since the peace of the kirk and kingdom cannot admit farther prorogation.

Secondly, That his Majesty, from his tender care of the preservation of our religion and laws, will be graciously pleased to declare and assure that it is his will, that all matters ecclesiastical be determined by the assembly of the kirk, and matters civil, by Parliament; which, for his Majesty's honour, and keeping peace and order among his subjects, in the time of his Majesty's personal absence, would be holden at set times, once in two or three years.

Thirdly, That a blessed pacification may be speedily brought about, and his Majesty's subjects may be secured, our humble desire is, that his Majesty's ships, and forces by land, be recalled: That all persons, ships and goods arrested, be restored, and we made safe from invasion: And that all excommunicate persons, incendiaries, and informers against the kingdom (who have out of malice caused

these commotions for their own private ends) be returned, to suffer their deserved censure and punishment; and some other points, as may best conduce to this happy pacification.

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As these are our humble desires, so it is our grief, that his Majesty should have been provoked to wrath against us, his most humble and loving subjects; and shall be our delight, upon his Majesty's gracious assurance of the preservation of our religion and laws, to give example to others, of all civil and temporal obedience, which can be required or expected of loyal subjects.

*The King.*

This supplication being presented and read, his Majesty said, he could give no sudden answer to it; subjoining, here you have presented your desires; as much as to say, Give us all we desire; which, if no other, than settling of your religion and laws established, I never had other intentions than to settle them. His Majesty withal told them, that their propositions were a little too rude at the first.

*London.*

We desire your Majesty, that our grounds laid down, may receive the most favourable construction.

*The King.*

I protest I have no intention to surprize you, but I withal desire you to consider, how you stand too strictly upon your propositions. Here his Majesty again protested, that he intended not to alter any thing, either in their laws or religion, that had been settled by sovereign authority. Neither will I, saith he, at all encroach upon your laws by my prerogative; but the question will be at last, Who shall be the judge of the meaning of those laws? His Majesty then farther told them, that their pretences were fair, but their actions otherwise.

*Rothesi.*

CHARLES

I.

1639.

*Roths.*

We desire to be judged by the written word of the laws. Here he proceeded in justifying the assembly at Glasgow.

*The King.*

You cannot expect the ratification of that assembly, seeing the election of the members of it were not lawful, nor was there any free choice of them.

*Roths.*

There was nothing done in it, which was not answerable to the constitutions of the church. Adding, That there is no other way for settling differences in religion, but by such an assembly of the kirk.

*The King.*

That assembly was neither free nor lawful, and so consequently the proceedings could not be lawful. But when I say one thing, and you another, who shall judge?

*Roths.*

The book of the assembly shall be brought to your Majesty to judge; wherein your Majesty shall not find any thing constituted, but what shall be warranted by other General Assemblies.

*Loudon.*

Here the Lord Loudon began to make a relation of the nature of the assembly, saying, How that in every parish there is a presbyter, and a lay elder who in every assembly is joined with the minister. And this order he affirmed to be so settled by the reformation, as is to be found in the book of discipline, which is authentic of itself, and ever heretofore received, without needing to be confirmed by act of Parliament, it having been continually observed, as valid enough of itself, though it had not so been ratified.

The

*The King.*

CHARLES

I.

1639.

The book of discipline was never ratified, either by King or Parliament; but ever rejected by them. Besides this, there were never in any assembly, so many lay elders as in this.

*Roths.*

Lay elders have been in all assemblies, and, in some, more than of the clergy. And in this assembly, every lay elder was so well instructed, as that he could give judgment of any one point, which should be called in question before them.

*The King.*

To affirm thus much of a truth, seems very ridiculous; namely, that every illiterate person should be able to be a judge of faith and religion. Which yet, his Majesty said, was very convenient and agreeable to their disposition; for by that means they might chuse their own religion.

*London.*

Here this Lord began by several arguments, to justify that assembly, affirming it to have power to punish any offences. Against this his Majesty excellently disputed; and if any reason would have satisfied them, they might there have been satisfied. But the time being far passed (for by this time it was full one o'clock) the Lord London desired his Majesty to know what grounds they should go upon.

*The King.*

Do you get power to know what your full desire is, with your reasons for it. Lay down also, that you desire nothing but the settling of your laws and religion; and that you acknowledge my Sovereignty, and will yield me all temporal and civil obedience.

*London.*

We beseech your Majesty, we may have a note for our direction.

*The King.*

It is not fit for us to give it, but for you to say what you desire.

VOL. II.

T

*London.*

CHARLES

I.

1639.

*Loudon.*

Our desires are, to enjoy our liberties, according to the laws.

*Rethes.*

Then that Earl offered to prove, that there had been nothing done in that general assembly contrary to the laws.

*Loudon.*

At length, this Lord, by his Majesty's commandment, drew a note, to this purpose, how that their desires were only to enjoy their religion and liberty, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of that kingdom; and to clear the particular grounds of such their desires; and what other things proved not so, they were not to insist upon them.

*The King.*

I have all this while discoursed with disadvantage, seeing what I say, I am obliged to make good; but ye are men of honour too; and therefore, whatever ye assent unto, if others refuse, ye are also obliged to make it good.

Then, Thursday morning being appointed for a second meeting, his Majesty went to his pavilion to dinner. All the Commissioners were feasted by his Excellency. After dinner nothing was publicly debated; only some private conferences and discourses passed for a while betwixt several parties; for within an hour, or little more, after dinner, the Scottish Commissioners departed to their camp at Dunce.

The note, forementioned to be drawn by the Lord Loudon, containing their humble desires, was this which followeth, and was presented the same 11th of June.

Memorandum: Written by the Lord Loudon's own hand.

" That our desires are only for the enjoying of our religion and  
" liberty, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of his Ma-  
" jesty's kingdom.

" To



CHARLES

I.

1639.

" To clear, by sufficient grounds, that the particulars which we  
" humbly crave, are such; and shall not insist to crave any point  
" which is not so warranted; and that we humbly offer all civil and  
" temporal obedience to his Majesty, which can be required or ex-  
" pected of loyal subjects.

Hereunto, on Thursday following, was this following answer re-  
turned; " That whereas his Majesty hath received, the 11th of June, a  
short paper of the general grounds and limits of their humble desires,  
he is graciously pleased to make this answer; that if their desires be  
only the enjoying of their religion and liberty, according to the  
ecclesiastical and civil laws of his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland,  
his Majesty doth not only agree to the same, but shall always protect  
them to the uttermost of his power; and if they shall not insist upon  
any thing but that which is to be warranted, his Majesty will most  
willingly and readily condescend to it; so that, in the mean time,  
they pay unto him that civil and temporal obedience, which can be  
justly required and expected of loyal subjects."

At his Majesty's Camp,  
13 June, 1639.

To their supplication and memorandum before, the Lords Covenant-  
ers, on Thursday June 13, added also this following.

" Reasons and grounds of our humble desires.

" We did first humbly desire a ratification of the acts of the late  
assembly in the ensuing Parliament, First, because the civil power is  
keeper of both tables; and where the kirk and kingdom are one  
body, consisting of the same members, there can be no firm peace,  
nor stability of order, except the ministers of the kirk, in their way,  
pres the obedience of civil laws and magistrate, and the civil power  
add their sanction and authority to the constitutions of the kirk.  
Secondly, because the late general assembly indicted by his Majesty,  
was lawfully constituted in all the members, according to the insti-  
tution and order prescribed by acts of former assemblies. Thirdly,

because

" To

CHARLES

I.

1639.

because no particular is enacted in the late assembly, which is not grounded upon the acts of preceding assemblies, and is either expressly contained in them, or by necessary consequences may be deduced from them. That the Parliament be kept without prorogation, his Majesty knows how necessary it is, since the peace of the kirk and kingdom call for it, without longer delay.

We did secondly desire, that his Majesty would be pleased to declare and assure, that it is his royal will, that all matters ecclesiastical be determined by the assemblies of the kirk; and matters civil, by the Parliament, and other inferior judicatories established by law; because we know no other way of the preservation of our religion and laws; and because matters so different in their nature, ought to be treated respectively in their own proper judicatories. It was also desired, that Parliaments might be holden at set times, as once in two or three years, by reason of his Majesty's personal absence, which hindereth his subjects in their complaints and grievances, to have immediate access unto his Majesty's presence.

And where his Majesty requires us to limit our desires to the enjoying of our religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws respective, we are heartily content to have the occasion to declare, that we never intended farther, than the enjoying of our religion and liberties; and that, all this time past, it was far from our thoughts or desires, to diminish the royal authority of our native King and dread Sovereign; or to make any invasion upon the kingdom of England; which are the calumnies forged and spread against us by the malice of our adversaries; and for which, we humbly desire, that, in his Majesty's justice, they may have their own censure and punishment.

Thirdly, we desired a blessed pacification, and did express the most ready and powerful means, which we could conceive, for bringing the same speedily to pass, leaving other means, serving for that end, to his Majesty's royal consideration and greater wisdom."

On

On Thursday morning the said four commissioners, together with Mr. Henderson, and Archibald Johnson, Clerk of the late assembly, came again to the Lord General's Tent. They being set, in came the king and my Lord Marquis. Henderson spake much of the power of the assembly; and Rothes, in plain terms, affirmed the power of it to be so great, that, were he the King, it had authority to excommunicate him also. Others charged several things upon the Marquis, and in particular, that many of their supplications delivered unto him, never came to the King's hand. These the Marquis answered. But the notes taken at the conference are not yet perfected. To-morrow, June 15, the Scottish come again, for whom this answer is this afternoon prepared, as my Lord General \* directs me to signify to your Grace; "that the King will have the last assembly abrogated, and in lieu of it, allow them to hold another presently, at which his Majesty will be present; till which assembly be finished, the army shall not stir from hence." But my Lord thinks all things will not end peaceably†.

CHARLES

I.

1639.

*Private Warrant † from King Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton, to converse with the Covenanters.*

CHARLES R.

July 17th, 1639.

WE do by these presents not only authorise, but require you to use all the means you can, with such of the covenanters as come to Berwick, to learn which way they intend the estate of Bishops shall be supplied in Parliament; what our power shall be in

\* This narrative seems to have been sent by the Earl of Arundel's direction, to Archbishop Laud, from the camp.

† The war broke out again in a few months.

‡ As Burnet, in his memoirs of Hamilton, has already mentioned, though in an inaccurate way, this extraordinary warrant, it is thought not improper to publish it exactly from the original.

ecclesiastical

CHARLES

I.

1639-40.

ecclesiastical affairs; and what farther their intentions are. For which end, you will be necessitated to speak that language, which, if you were called to an account for by us, you might suffer for it. These are therefore to assure you, and, if need be, hereafter to testify to others, that whatsoever you shall say to them, to discover their intentions in these particulars, you shall neither be called in question for the same, nor yet it prove any ways prejudicial to you; nay, though you should be accused by any thereupon.

To our right trusty and well beloved cousin and counsellor, the  
Marquis Hamilton.

Berwick,  
July 17th, 1639.

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*A relation concerning the Scots proceedings; their natures and present estates, with their intentions, and some ways to animate this country against them, and divide themselves. By one who hath long resided there.*

Feb. 10th, 1639-40.

10th Feb.

THEIR covenant, the ground of all, with the new additions, namely, abjuring of Episcopacy, the five articles of Perth, and high Commission, with ratifying the assembly of Glasgow as free and lawful, is, by the second subscription and oaths thereto, with the general bond for maintaining thereof, so deeply imprinted into the hearts of the ignorant common people, blind zealous burghers, and proud gentry, by their ministers continual thundering out of the pulpit, that it is utter damnation for them to slide from the least point thereof. This, seconded with their poverty, fills them with desperate resolutions. And now, though his Majesty hath permitted them

CHARLES

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1639-40.

them satisfaction in ecclesiastical affairs, they will defend, as they term it, the ancient laws and liberties of their country. The commons are slaves to the gentry; so take away the cause, and the effect ceaseth; either by granting them satisfaction in the church affairs, and a taxation and rate of the kingdom; or by utter destruction.

Wherein great wisdom may perhaps pull the weeds out of the corn; and nothing, if it could be well managed, would satisfy the commons so much, as privately to conduce with one man in every town; and he, to move his neighbour with a true and real relation of his Majesty's power and clemency; and that, if they will stand together for his Majesty, they shall have all debts forgiven that they owe their landlords; and shall hereafter hold free \* of his Majesty, and pay but half the rents they now pay. The miserable poverty and slavery they be now in, will make them give ear to this, perhaps.

If peace cannot be concluded, the sooner his Majesty's forces be at the border, it will be best; for then will they rise in a confusion, and the commons being most unskilful in their arms, will do more mischief among themselves than their enemies; their monies cannot be gathered so soon, and men cannot live on a year. This will keep them from tilling the ground, and sowing the same; which, if his Majesty can keep them in by land and sea, will reduce them, in a year, to such extremity, that they will hate one another.

His Majesty's forces were best to go down as privately as may be, and the whole army gather on a sudden †; and then to bring up the forces by sea; (only a ship or two may attend, till then, that no more arms be brought in ‡) for if the sea forces come up first, they will presently rush into arms and invade, for they resolve that. Be-

\* Abolish jurisdictions and vassalage.

† That was impossible.

‡ That was good advice; and in effect no care was fitter to intercept supplies of arms and ammunition.

fides.

CHARLES  
I.  
1639-40.

sides, the poor soldiers, flocked home from all quarters, there is 100,000 men in their country worse than nothing; these they will gather and furnish out; who, they say, shall invade this country. The report of whose riches being compared with their poverty, covetousness sets their teeth on edge.

They are erecting a powder-work at Leith.

They have not a magazine of powder; that which they have, is divided in the country, and I believe most part spent; there is none in the merchants hands. I verily believe 30,000 men, in one day, would spend all the powder in that country; but the certain quantity they have cannot be known.

For armour, they have pikes and muskets for about 30,000 men, new and old, with that which came since the pacification.

Cannon, they have six brass demi culverins, that came with the said arms. They will have of the small iron ordnance, with what is in their ships, about fifty; and they say the Earl of Seaforth hath one hundred small iron pieces, that they have bought from him in the north, a hundred miles from Aberdeen; those, with fourteen or fifteen-field pieces, is all I know of.

Balmerino had about two hundred muskets and bandeliers with powder, which came from Holland about a month since. For shipping, they have, within the Firth, about eighty sail, all betwixt forty and one hundred and twenty ton; except two or three, which will extend to about six hundred ton; some carry two, some four, and some six small iron pieces; they are all of the Yarmouth and Holland building.

For monies, they were exceeding bare, till these two ships arrived from Spain, about fourteen days ago. Samuel Lockhart, Sir James Lockhart's brother, knows what money they had; he was in Cadiz, and came merchant of one of them; he is here in London. I do not believe there was 10,000 l. in the whole kingdom before, except some that is hoarded up. It must be a great scarcity when

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# STATE PAPERS.

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one of the best Lords of the covenant, offered his own bond and two sureties, and could not have 250 l. to borrow.

CHARLES  
I.

1639-40.

The English merchants were ever since the pacification there, and have brought away great stores of monies; but they make use of his Majesty's mint-house, which should not be, during these troubles; at least, it were most convenient the irons were removed to the castle; then, they will not give in their plate to coin, as they did last year.

And for animating this country to follow his Majesty, and stand in their own defence, and keep out invaders, and bestow both their means and lives for the liberty of them and their posterity; there is no way so good, as to send general information to all the Ministers within this kingdom, and to let all see what the Scots intend, that is, sudden invasion; and let them know, that in former ages their divisions and security have made them subject to divers foreign nations; and on the contrary, when they followed freely to their kings, to defend them, their fame sounded through all the world.

And because there be divers Scots covenanters about Court, who give intelligence (both by the ordinary, and postmen and journeymen for Scotland) a course should be taken that the letters may be opened; and that the Governor of Berwick may give order for some strict searching and examining the Scots travellers; for many that go up and down England, with Scots linen, &c. scatter and sow errors, divisions, and dissensions in the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, which should be prevented; and the Covenanters about Court should be discharged.



CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Secretary Windebanke to the Lord Conway.*

My Lord,

14th August.

**H**IS Majesty having understood from a very good hand, that the rebels of Scotland have a design upon the town of Newcastle, and in his wisdom considering the dangerous blow, that the taking of a place of that importance would give to his affairs, hath seriously advised upon a means to prevent it; and therefore hath commanded me to signify his pleasure unto your Lordship, that you, immediately upon view of the hills that command the town toward Scotland, and likewise any other hill or place, from whence the town may be battered or incommodated by the enemy, do forthwith cause redoubts to be erected, and lines and trenches to be drawn from one redoubt to another, and sufficient numbers of men to be put into those redoubts and fortifications, for the defence and securing of those places. And if peradventure you are not furnished with ready monies for such a work, his Majesty's pleasure is, that your Lordship will cause such inhabitants of the town, as you shall think fit (seeing their own safeties are so much concerned herein) to labour and work in these fortifications, and to hasten the perfecting of them; for which, his Majesty is pleased to promise they shall receive, out of the supply of monies that shall be sent thither, such satisfaction as shall be fitting. His Majesty expects your Lordship's diligences herein, according to the importance of the business, and a speedy account of your proceedings, and of the execution of these his commandments.

The Lord General \* being not well, his Majesty hath commanded me to give your Lordship these orders; and this is all I

\* Earl of Northumberland.

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† The Sec  
‡ Finch.  
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have in commission from his Majesty; which referring to your Lordship's wisdom, I rest, &c.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Upon the receipt of your Lordship's of the 10th, I directed an answer to you the last night, with other commandments from his Majesty.

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*Minutes of Cabinet Council.*

London, August 16th, 1640.

*His Majesty.*

**PROPOSED,** His own going to-morrow.

August 16th.

*Mr. Comptroller\*.*

Proposed, That it should be considered whether his Majesty shall not come short to do any good, if they † come in so suddenly; and then, whether it may not be dangerous to his Majesty to forsake these parts in this conjuncture.

Every Lord Lieutenant to go into his own shire, and to have the trained bands in a readiness, whensoever his Majesty shall give warning.

*Lord Keeper ‡.*

He will not speak of his Majesty's going, it is so determined; but if he do go, not only the trained bands, but the whole kingdom is bound in person and estate to serve: *This, Hatton and Croke, in case of invasion.*

\* Sir Thomas Jermyn.

† The Scots.

‡ Finch. He was an artful courtier, and eloquent speaker. He escaped abroad; out-

lived the civil war; was a judge of the Regicides in 1660; and after that, heard of no more.

CHARLES

1.  
1640.

His Majesty will go directly to York, and stay but one night upon the way, and there he shall certainly know what the enemy does; and he will govern himself according to the occasion. No honour against the rebels. He will be careful what to do.

The trained bands will rise the more willingly for his Majesty's presence; though they will rise willingly with the Lord Lieutenant.

*Holland and Salisbury\*.*

What, if the country will refuse upon their own charge?

*Lord Lyttleton†.*

By the commission of array, they have gone upon the charges of the county; but positively, upon the sudden, he dares not give an opinion.

*Lord Keeper.*

By the commission of array, they are bound at their own charges; yet some doubts have been made, in case of going out of their own counties.

He is of opinion, that whosoever is of ability, ought to serve, when the King goes in person.

Whether for wages, is the question.

His Majesty means instantly to go to York. He does not expect to be advised to it; but if good reason be not shewn to the contrary, he will do it.

*Lord Marquis of Hamilton.*

If it be only the defence of Newcastle, he thinks it may be done without the King.

*The King.*

Thinks, if he come there, he shall do more than defend Newcastle; but if they be not come in, he thinks he shall stay them; if they be, to cut off provisions from them; and this, without losing

\* Objections made by these two Lords.

† Sir E. Lyttleton, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, afterwards Lord Keeper.

any

any man's life. He thinks he shall be safer there than here, if they should take Newcastle; and he thinks he shall the rather secure his wife and children.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Earl Holland.*

Whether the King have money when he shall come there?

*The King.*

Is sure to have money for a great while, and shall have more if he go himself, than if he stay.

*Lord Keeper.*

What is to be done for advancement of this resolution? He thinks the subject will not be in so good temper, as under the King.

*The King.*

Thinks he shall shew them, that this pamphlet is not true: If he sit still, it will encourage them, and dishonour his servants here; especially now the Lord General is not well.

*Lord Lieutenant †.*

It is a charge received with too much heat, to be entertained so suddenly. He speaks only to the time.

He is not satisfied that there is so instant a danger of the loss of Newcastle ‡.

The only thing is, to march up the men to Newcastle, and so long as that may be done, it is not important whether six or eight days.

The Lord Conway to take the trained bands of Durham; and the two thousand five hundred horse to be in readiness; till then, his Majesty's going is not necessary.

He neither conceives the danger of Newcastle so great, nor that they will come in; and if they should, it would not be the

† Earl of Strafforde.

‡ Lord Strafforde was often mistaken from his heat of temper.  
worse

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

worse for his Majesty's service. And therefore, his Majesty not to stir too soon.

*The King.*

Answers and says, The news of their coming in, is not new, but of six months date. He fears he shall rather come too late. No man will undertake to secure Newcastle\*.

*Lord Mar†.*

Whether the army, ill affectioned, and ill paid, will be the better for his Majesty's presence?

*Lord Cottington.*

There must be some General to march up the army; the sooner the better.

As Newcastle is now, the Lord Conway thinks it in danger; but if Jacob Ashley come up with the army, he is not of that opinion.

*The King.*

Proposes Wednesday next to be the latest.

*Mr. Comptroller.*

The Mayor of London to be called and spoken to roundly, and clemently.

*The King's Answer.*

If he should stay so long, the opportunity lost. He had spoken with the Queen. She will stay here, until the plague be relented, and then to Hampton Court. The Lords to attend her Majesty.

Letters to be written to the Lords Lieutenants to be signed by his Majesty; commissions of array to them and to the Sheriffs jointly and severally.

A declaration against those that have received and spread the last pamphlet.

\* The King judged much better than Lord Strafforde.

† So the M S. It may be either *Lord Marshal*, or *Lord Mar.* of Hamilton.

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\* Oath of  
1. Sir Henry

# STATE PAPERS.

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The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to be here on Tuesday.  
Provost Marshall. The billeted soldiers.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Lord Archbishop Canterbury.*

Some ministers have convened to consider, whether the oath \* shall be taken. Whether the L. B. † shall expect till the King be petitioned; or whether they shall take an order with those that refuse the oath?

Some petitions are coming already, as Mr. Seymour and others. The oath to be tendered before November.

*The King answered,*

Let it alone to October, and if he give not order to the contrary, they must then tender it. In the mean time, those that are to be preferred to livings, to have it tendered.

Prevent any meetings and coming to the King with petitions, as much as may be.

If his Majesty will give *the Lord Archbishop* a dispensation ‡, he will be satisfied.

If there be cause, the king will give a dispensation.

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*Mr. Treasurer Vane || to Secretary Windebanke.*

Right Honourable,

HIS Majesty arriving here last night, met divers dispatches from 23d August. the North bearing the passage of the Scotch army over the Tweed, on Thursday last, as you will see by the two enclosed copies; the same advertisement was confirmed from other hands; and one who saw them pass arrived here, and relates, that they continued passing from four in the afternoon till the next morning, to

\* Oath of the new canons. † Lords Bishops. ‡ Not to exact the oath.  
|| Sir Henry Vane was Treasurer of the Household, as well as Secretary of State.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

the number (as is conceived) of 12,000 men; that 6,000 more were to follow, and other 4,000 quartered not far from them, to pass as occasion should require. Upon these advertisements, letters have been presently written to the Lord Conway, Sir John Conyers, Sir Jacob Ashley, and other commanders on the frontiers, for to prepare against the Rebels farther passage into this kingdom. The Lord Conway is already marched with a thousand horse, and as many musqueteers, for to make head, and give some opposition, whilst our troops gather into a body; and that Sir Jacob Ashley fortify and enquarter with the foot he hath, near Newcastle, on Northumberland side, in case they should attempt any thing on that town. His Majesty hath given order for the raising of the trained bands of this country, with such a train of artillery as can for the present be made ready; for the furthering of which design, it is resolved to remain here three or four days, and then march in the head of them to join with the rest. The Bishop of Durham hath also directions for the disposing of the trained bands, and such other strength as can be raised in that county, for the securing of all the passes therein; and to take order, that necessary provisions be brought in for the supply of those of this county, in their march through the Bishoprick, that no disorders may happen by want thereof. The Lord Clifford is going into Westmorland, to draw there such forces as he can unto a head, for to be ready upon all occasions; and letters are gone to the Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland and Northumberland, for to put their counties also in state to defend the passages.

You shall receive here enclosed, a letter from his Majesty for the Queen. You will be pleased to give her knowledge of this dispatch in the first place; and so to quicken the Lords of the finances, and those principally entrusted with his Majesty's affairs, that there may be no want of money, at least that we may have supplies for the army timely; whatsoever letters may have been written by way, in his Majesty's

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\* Lord  
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Majesty's journey to York, yet you see I am not, nor have been, deceived in my intelligence of the Scots, from the beginning. God send unity amongst ourselves, and I shall less apprehend any thing the Rebels can do. I am very sorry for my Lord Lieutenant's \* absence; and the King tells me, he cannot be here sooner than Wednesday night. His Majesty told me of the dispatch you sent him, and that to the Marquis in my absence; that he had returned it to you apostiled with his direction; I shall by the next say something to you of *Witherings* which I have discovered in the way, as I came down; but such is at present the condition of his Majesty's affairs, that I have little leisure to think of any thing that concerns myself; however I am,

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

H. VANE.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

AS I was closing the great packet, and yours sealed, this piece of 23d August  
intelligence was brought unto me, the copy whereof I now send you. I do not believe they are 40,000 strong; but they may be betwixt 20, and 30,000 horse and foot †; they certainly lay at Millfield, two or three miles from my Lord Gray's house at Chillingham, on Friday night last. They are now fourteen miles from Alnwick; and had they not been hindered by great rains that fell on Saturday, I do much apprehend they would have been at Newcastle before we should have been ready for them. You, and my

\* Lord Strafforde.

† This was an amazing force for Scotland alone to raise, take it at the lowest.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Lords in the South, should do well to bestir yourselves for money, and in time to think how to be provided to raise an army in the South; though I hope there will be no cause: for my opinion is, the Scots will put on their point, if they get one advantage. I beseech you present my service to my Lord Marshal, and tell him, by the next he shall hear from me more of this subject. God speed his Majesty and his armies well, and send us a happy meeting. And so I rest

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
23d August, 1640.

H. VANE.

---

*Copy of the Lord Conway's Letter to Mr. Treasurer, sent to the Lord Cottington, by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

Mr. Treasurer,

August 21, 1640.

21st August.

NOW comes one to me, who tells me, that the Scotch army is marching in England; they were at one o'clock at a little village over-against Ford Castle, they were marching towards Woller; and it is thought that they will quarter this night at Middleton Hall. I am going towards them, and am to march to-morrow morning by three of the clock. If we are both thus diligent, we may meet before long. So I rest.

P. S. I send the letter of Sir John Clavering, which I received when I had writ this; his man that brought it, was in their army.

Divers English were there. They hinder none from coming or going ; but if any ride from them, they endeavour to take him. He thinks that they will quarter this night at Woller ; if they purpose to come to Newcastle, they may be there, as the man thinks, by Tuesday ; so that they will be there as soon as the soldiers that come out of Yorkshire, &c.

Morpeth,  
the 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1640.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Sir H. Vane to Windebanke.*

Sir,

YOUR dispatch of the 22<sup>d</sup>, I received yesterday morning at 25<sup>th</sup> August.  
eight of the clock, which, as soon as his Majesty had read, he gave unto me, and with it, order to make you answer to the several points therein contained that were necessary. First, concerning the Lord Mayor's answer, in the name of the city, both for present and loan ; it was no other than his Majesty expected ; and for that of the East India business, he leaves it to the committee's wisdom and dexterity ; out of which he hopes for a good effect, not out of the affections of those they have to deal withal.

Touching the 8,000 pounds worth of powder, the city proposes now to buy, his Majesty is of the same opinion with the Lords. For the hundred barrels you mention, it is true, that such a proposition was issued by his Majesty's warrant, when the distemper first began at Lambeth, at my Lord Mayor's suit, on the behalf of the city, but they were to pay for the same. If you speak with my Lord Mayor and Mr. Wiseman, they will not deny it, I presume ; and therefore it is his Majesty's pleasure, that the Lord Treasurer call for the monies from them, for the same ; and for what you represent

X 2 concerning

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

concerning the enhancing of the coin, his Majesty approves the resolution the Lords of the Committee have taken therein.

Having given you account, to the particular points his Majesty held necessary, in your dispatch; I shall acquaint you how at present the state of his Majesty's affairs is in these parts; and that you may the better know the strength of the rebels now marching in England, I shall refer you to a letter of the Lord Conway; and a copy of one to the Lord Marquis, from the Lord Loudon; both which ye shall receive here enclosed; by which also you will understand the state of Newcastle, and what I sent you in my last, if the rebels use diligence and march thither (which nothing hitherto hath retarded, but the great waters which fell on Saturday last) it is conceived in danger. Sir Jacob Ashley hath done all that a gallant man could do, to put the town in a defence; the Mayor and governors in this exigent, spare neither their purses, hands, or any thing else, wherein they may assist.

The county of Durham hath raised all their trained bands, horse and foot, and two thousand men more at their own charge, to defend the Tyne water. This is the condition of these parts; which is conceived by his Majesty not to be secure, considering the strength of the rebels, and the little time they may peradventure give unto Newcastle, if that be their design.

His Majesty yesterday spake with the Lords, Colonels, and Gentlemen of this county, to dispose them to rise with all the power and force of the same, to march to the river of Tees, being their confines, to defend the passes upon the same; offering himself to lead them; and here I must tell you, had not his Majesty been here in person, I do not conceive it had been possible to have induced this county to have risen by any other means; so great was the discontent when his Majesty arrived here. And by this you see, that the person of a King is always worth 20,000 men at a pinch. This force, his Majesty hopes to have marching by the 3d of next month,

with

CHARLES

I.

1640.

with a train of artillery of thirty pieces; so, as by this account, you see his Majesty hath not been idle, but most active and diligent.

I am now, by his Majesty's order, sending out letters, under the signet, to the nine shires south of York, that you have already dispatched unto, to rise with all the force they can make, to come to the confines of their several counties, nearest to this place, to attend his Majesty's farther orders. The bordering counties have had also their orders from his Majesty, to put themselves into a vigorous defence.

And having now given you an account how his Majesty hath passed his time since his coming hither, I am commanded by him to tell you (which you are to impart to the Committee) that without money, and that speedily, all these his Majesty's diligences will be frustrate, and the kingdom in danger; and therefore he commands that 20,000*l.* be sent away upon the receipt hereof, with the treasurer of the army; 20,000*l.* more, to be sent away the week after; and that the Lords care be such, that now at first there be no want of monies for the armies. This you are principally to recommend to the Lords Treasurer and Cottingham, and most especially the last; you are to represent unto the Committee, from his Majesty, that incredulity, and too much despising of the rebels strength, hath brought his Majesty and State into a great strait, both of time and danger, which imports the good and safety of all. This he expects should be redeemed. You are, in the first place, to communicate this dispatch with her Majesty; and so much as you shall think fit, with the Lords of the Council. And so I rest,

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
this 25th of August, 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*The Same to the Same.*

Sir,

28th August.

**I** SEND you here inclosed, a letter from Sir John Conyers \*, which came in my packet, but his Majesty broke it up. You shall also receive the copies of two letters my Lord Conway hath sent me, of the freshest date, by which you will see the strength of the Scots; who, besides what I send you from him, I am just now advertised, that they are marched to the Tyne-side, and have left Newcastle; which, if they pass, we shall be put to it. I wish these things had been foreseen in time; you know what my opinion hath been long, both of their strength, and of a party in England. His Majesty is endeavouring all he can, to hinder their passage. My Lord Conway is gone with all the horse, and Sir Jacob Ashley with four thousand foot, on this side the river, to stop them; but it is fordable in so many places, that it is difficult; but we must do our best. My Lord Lieutenant is this day fallen very sick and ill; he purposed to have gone towards Newcastle to-morrow; but the King hath stayed him until Saturday; the truth is, he is not well.

The Scots pay for all they take, unless they meet with a recusant, and then they plunder. They have begun with Sir William Fenwicke, and Mr. Wray of Northumberland; the latter, they have taken from him to a great value, and almost undone. All the country in Northumberland have driven their goods away, and come into Newcastle; which, I may tell you, runs a hazard, if they will come before it; as you will see by my Lord Conway's letter, it will run a hazard. If the Scots pass the Tyne into the bishopric, they will strike betwixt the King's army at Newcastle and Durham, amongst the churchmen, where are also divers fat recusants; where

\* Governor of Berwick; which town the Scots left behind them unattempted.

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they may peradventure refresh their army; if they advance still on southward, it is then to be apprehended they have certainly a party amongst us. I send you, by his Majesty's command also, in a paper here inclosed, divers commissions of array to be drawn to the gentlemen of Yorkshire there named. It is done by my Lord Lieutenant's advice, and therefore you are to give warrant to Mr. Attorney for the drawing thereof accordingly, and to speed it for the King's hand, with all possible diligence; or rather, because it requires haste, let it be dispatched with one of your blanks, if it may be. His Majesty intends on Saturday to remove to a place near the confines of Yorkshire, to a place called Croft Brigg. And so I rest, &c.

CHARLES.

1640.

York,  
this 28th of August, 1640.

H. VANE.

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*The Lord Conway's Letter to Mr. Treasurer.*

Morpeth, 24th August.

THE last night came a packet in a black box, directed for the King's affairs, as the post told me, from the Scotch army; this day, a captain of horse, as he saith upon discontent, came from the Scotch army; he was brought in by a party of ours; he saith, that the foot are 25,000, the horse 4000; I have by divers heard, that the foot is so strong, but the horse I have not heard to be more than 3000. This man saith, that these are all the best horse of Scotland taken from every part; he saith also, that they do certainly expect a party in England, which may peradventure be, if the King do get a blow; they may at Bockenfield moor, within four or five miles of this place, to-morrow. They deal very subtilly; they hurt no man in any kind; they pay for what they take; so that the country doth give them all the assistance they can. Many of the country gentlemen do come to them, entertain and feast them; one of

24th August.



CHARLES

I.

1640.

of them is Mr. Carr of Forde. They did send to Sir John Clavering to come to them, complaining that the people of the country did raise their prices; that he and the gentlemen of the country would do well to put such order as might be equal; because that when their monies should be exhausted by their demands, they should not know how to live. This, I hear, was the manner of the German war; and by this means they will bring the country into contribution. In my opinion, their army is not despicable. Newcastle, I assure myself, will be defended as long as it is possible; and, in my opinion, it will be best that the horse be about Hexham; the passage over the Tyne ought also to be defended; but there goes more to it than to bid it be done. If the Scots can be stopt at the Tyne, it will be a great work; it will be requisite that just measures be taken of their forces, and of ours; and that we neither overvalue ourselves, nor undervalue them; they will be so best resisted; and the blows which we shall receive, will fall the less heavy; but if great diligence be not used, they will prevent the defence of the river. They march in such order, that there can be no advantage taken of them; and they do so order their affairs with the country, that they are well received. Northumberland is far from the heart, and the loss is not yet perceived; but their manner of proceeding here, will be the same in other places, and will work the same effects. I should be very glad to have Sir John Conyers here; he would be of much more use here than at Berwick. I believe you will receive from Sir Jacob Ashley an account of Newcastle. I am this day returned to Morpeth, and was this morning visited in my quarter by the Scotch horse, who came only to discover, therefore could not abide us; but they were very well mounted, so that we could not overtake them. &c.

The Scotch army doth this night quarter at Newtown, their horse at Lemmaton; they will be here to-morrow or the next day.

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Vol. I

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Lord Conway to Mr. Treasurer.*

Newcastle, August 26th, 1640.

THE last night the Scotch did lodge near Morpeth; this day 26th August. they are gone by it, and are within seven miles of this place; but it is thought that they will not come hither, but that they will pass the river of Tyne. There was order given to cast up works against the fords at Newborne, and two fords more. At Newborne is a regiment to defend it; but what is that? There are more than eight or ten places, where they may pass. If you do not take good heed, they will be with you, the troops being divided 12,000 foot and 500 horse with the King, and 10,000 foot and the horse here. If they have a mind to take Newcastle; if they come to Gateside, they may do it very quickly; for there are no works made on that side the river; neither could there for want of time; but I believe that they will not come hither. You shall do well to consider well what is to be done. I will, with all the horse, go, and, if it be possible, stop their passage, or hinder them; there are 2000 foot to go with me, and four pieces of cannon; the Bishop's \* men are written for, and they were warned four days ago. Having no more for this present, I rest, &c.

\* The whole army should have been brought to Newcastle, to fight the Scots on passing the Tyne.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke.*

Right Honourable,

29th Augst.

**U**PON the 28th, about two in the afternoon, the Lord Conway having drawn out of Newcastle two thousand five hundred foot, and all the horse, marched, with two pieces of cannon, to the south side of the Tyne, the Scots being on the north, with their whole army, intending to pass the same at Newborne. This his Majesty's forces endeavoured to hinder, having made some works and retrenchments, to defend our foot against the fury of their cannon; but the enemy had planted their artillery with so much advantage, that they beat our foot out of their works; whereupon the horse began to pass the water; which Commissary Wilmot perceiving, himself, with a Captain or two more, charged them, and so home, that the enemy retired; but these horse not being seconded, the enemy recharged them with all their horse. Commissary Wilmot, in this encounter, behaved himself like a gallant man, killed one or two with his own hand, and it is not certain whether he is killed or taken prisoner. Captain Vane, that gave the first charge, had his horse hurt in the mouth and in the thigh, in the midst of them; his horse being weak of his hurts, Vane fell; but it pleased God he recovered his horse, and came off with six or seven of his troop. The truth is, our horse did not behave themselves well, for many of them ran away, and did not second those that were first charged\*. My Lord Conway, and the foot, with their two pieces of artillery, got into Newcastle; our horse, routed and in disorder, gained Durham; from whence they are commanded to retire twelve miles southward, to a place called Darlington, where the Lord Lieutenant is gone to meet them. That evening, the Scots passed the river,

\* The year before, the horse were thought the best part of the King's army.

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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

and at present are before Newcastle; by which means they have cut betwixt Newcastle, where his Majesty's foot are, and his Majesty; who is at present at Northallerton, fourteen miles south of Darlington; and it is thought by Colonel Aston, who is a gallant and experienced foldier, and but yesterday come thence, that Newcastle cannot defend itself against the force of the enemy two days. His Majesty purposes on Monday to retire to York, and to gather what force he can, having given order to join the horse to him.

It will be now high time for the Lords and yourself to consider what is fit to be advised his Majesty; for the Scots have but too many friends in England I do much fear, and even in these northern parts. His Majesty hath commanded me to tell you, that you should hasten all the officers that are reformed, to follow him with all diligence; for there will be need of them amongst the trained bands. I was yesterday in the Bishopric, so as I missed your packet, which I advised should be delivered to my Lord Marquis in my absence, whom I have not yet seen, nor your dispatch. I hope my next will be of a more comfortable subject; for, believe me, though I conceive by report, that the loss of men on both sides may be equal; yet the disadvantage and prejudice is very great to his Majesty's service, by this unhappy accident in beginning. God send us better success; and so rests,

Your Honour's most humble servant,

Northallerton,  
this 29th of August, 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

30th August.

**H**AVING dispatched an exprefs unto you the last night at twelve o'clock, I did little expect I should have had occasion to address another so speedily; the subject of which is both good and ill. For Newcastle is quitted by our army, as will appear by the letter I send you here enclosed; by which means Newcastle is lost, and Lesley has possessed himself thereof. But his Majesty's army thereupon took the opportunity to make their retreat towards Durham, where they lodged four miles on this side the last night, and have orders to use all possible diligence to join themselves to the trained bands of this county at York, where his Majesty intends to be this night; and there to gather together all the possible strength he may, to face the enemy.

His Majesty hath commanded me to tell you, that he expects the forty thousand pound I sent to you for, by his order, according to former directions; and what other counsels the Lords there will give him in this exigent, for the safety and securing of this kingdom, and the beating back and repelling of the Rebels, who are already but too far advanced. And hereupon I must tell you, it is strange to see how Lesley steals the hearts of the people in these northern parts. You shall do well to think of timely remedies to be applied, lest the disease grow incurable; for I apprehend you are not much better in the South. Time you are not to lose herein, lest his Majesty be necessitated to take other counsels; for without a vigorous supply both of men and money, these Rebels are come in with so strong a force, and have the country where they march so much their friend, that it will be else hard to pick them out of the counties and towns

they are already possessed of, peradventure the endangering of the whole.

CHARLES

1640.

Your Honour's, &c.

From Northallerton,  
this 30th of August, 1640.

H. VANE.

The Lord Lieutenant this day joins with the army at Darlington. If you be not with her Majesty when you receive this packet, it is his Majesty's pleasure you send it to the Queen with all possible diligence.

*The Same to the Same.*

Sir,

THIS is only to acknowledge the receipt of three packets of your's this day; one of bills to sign; another of proclamations; the third with an enclosed to the Lord Strafford, which upon the receipt I addressed unto him. To all the particulars of your dispatch I shall make you answer, and return you your bills signed, by Mr. Walker, the paymaster of Carlisle, who I shall dispatch unto you to-morrow, or on Tuesday morning; myself having so much business to do at present here, to give out orders by his Majesty's command, the Lord Lieutenant being with the army; which God bless, for I am now advertised, that Lesley hath quit Newcastle, and is marching after our army as fast as he may. I hope we shall have time to join our forces together, and mend divers defects which hath happened since this army hath marched; but this to yourself, for I am none of those that shall condemn any without first hearing. Had not this been a cover, by his Majesty's command to two of his, the one for her Majesty, the other for the Constable of the Tower, besides your own,

30th August.

I had

CHARLES I. 1640. I had not given you this trouble at present. God bless his Majesty  
and his affairs, so rests,

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 30th of August, 1640.

H. VANE.

My Lord St. Albans shall have an answer of his letter from me within these few days; I dare not say to his contentment, but his Majesty will not give yet an answer.

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*Extract of the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to his Majesty.*

Darlington, August 30, 1640.

THIS night all your army, horse and foot, are come into this town. I took a view of them all as they marched along; the foot I take to be ten thousand.

The horse I judge to be fifteen hundred, and I may hope that they will still increase, and the troopers every day return to their colours.

There are some of the troops in very good order.

The person of note killed by Wilmot, proves to be the Earl of Montrose\*. Wilmot is not killed, but taken; hurt, but without danger. Sir John Digby taken prisoner, but not hurt; in one word, I believe as many of them slain as of us. The Rebels lie yet about Newcastle.

\* A mistake.



CHARLES

I.

1640.

*From Mr. Treasurer Vane, to Secretary Windebanke.*

Sir,

BY what I send you here enclosed from the Earl of Strafforde 1st Sept.  
to his Majesty, you will understand the state of his Majesty's  
army, as it retreated from Newcastle; and such it is at present,  
that nothing is to be advised, but to put our army upon the defen-  
sive; by which you see, let man purpose what he will, it is God  
only that disposes. I have not heard that Lesley hath marched since  
Saturday; that night he encamped five miles on this side New-  
castle, if not this day; but you may be confident he will not lie  
long still, knowing but too well the state of his Majesty's army.  
His Majesty commands me to tell you, that my Lords should take  
it into their wisdom and consideration, how to prepare a force to  
resist the rebels, if they should pass by him, and march for the  
South; and that they take presently order for the same, and what  
they will advise him; he having sent you a true state how things  
are here with him; of which he expects a resolution, which you  
are to press, for it will admit no delay.

His Majesty approves well of the slaying of the officers belong-  
ing to my Lord Marquis's forces, with my Lord Marshal, to whom  
by his Majesty's command, I have signified as much.

I have written by his Majesty's command for Ned Norgate to  
come and attend the journey, and if any clerk of the Signet come  
here when I am waiting, I will send him home. It is his Majesty's  
pleasure the master should wait, and not the men, and that they  
shall find.

His Majesty approves well of the orders you have given for the  
making of the Tower safe, and of the Lords care to support and  
strengthen my Lord Marshal's commission. For my Lord Admiral's  
pacquets,

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

pacquets, he would have them stirred, for the time past especially, since by the last you advertise it is conceived he is past all danger. For the other points in both your dispatches, there needs no particular answers. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 18 of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

*Memorial; Council and Committee.*

London, September 2.

Two Propositions.

2d Sept.

THE one by reconciling the King and his people.

The other by raising monies, and so forces, which is feared too weak.

*Lord Privy Seal \*.*

Whether the King will not be contented to have a general great council of the Peers?

*Earl of Berkshire.*

The Peers will speak of nothing but a Parliament.

*The Lord Marshal.*

Spake to the city, and did let them know the great trust his Majesty had reposed in them; and to that end, had left a commission of lieutenancy for them; that he had given the Constable of the Tower order to hold a good intelligence with them, and to be ready for their defence: That they must be ready for the defence of the King and themselves, with all their forces upon warning. The affection of London hath ever concurred with the state.

*My Lord Mayor.*

Whether they shall increase the number of the trained bands?

\* Lord Manchester.

*The*

*The Lords answered.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

To as great a number as he should think fit; the more the better.

*Sir Thomas Roe.*

A grand council not called these three hundred years. No way but to indict a Parliament, and in the mean time the Peers be called. A present decrying of all grievances.

*Secretary Windebanke \**

For the calling of the Peers.

*Mr. Comptroller.*

The Lords to be called, who being persuaded by the council that grievances shall be redressed, will, in probability, rather be contented with a remedy from the King, than from Lesley.

*Lord Newburgh.*

That both the calling of the Lords, and indicting of a Parliament be represented to the King.

*Lord Cottington.*

The King will think it more to his advantage, that it be done by the Lords in a general council, than by the council board.—Rather counsellable to advise his Majesty to call the Lords as fast as may be.

*Earl Berks.*

As the Lord Cottington.

*Earl Salisbury †.*

To call the Lords.

*Earl Dorset.*

To call the Lords, a way about: it will be as long to call the Lords, as to call the Parliament; and besides, the glory of a Parliament will rather be given to them, than to the board; and therefore rather for a Parliament than calling the Lords.

*Earl Marshal.*

To call the Peers: the only way, the best and the shortest way.

\* The stanch courtiers seem to have been against a Parliament.

† Captain of the band of pensioners.

CHARLES

I.

1642.

*Lord Privy Seal* \*

Wholly averse from advising a Parliament, and wholly for calling the Peers, the council of the kingdom, *consilarii nati*; Edward III. called his great council upon a like occasion; they raised great sums of money without a Parliament, and assisted the King. The kingdom will follow the Peers.

*Lord Treasurer* †

For calling the Lords.

*Lord Keeper.*

Not to represent to the King the calling of the Parliament, but all the Lords.

*Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The great council of the Lords to be called; but to be put to the King, that we *are at the wall*, and that we are in the dark, and have no grounds for a council. We have no way but this, or the calling of the Parliament; and the Parliament *a consequent*.

*Committee.*

Lord Treasurer, Lord Marshal, Earl Dorset, Lord Cottington, Secretary Windebanke.

That his Majesty will call away the Lieutenant ‡ of the Tower, and employ him there, if his Majesty can handsomely remove him; as much for his service; he being observed to be discontented, since the Lord Constable's || coming in.

The Lord Marshal and Lord Cottington intend to go tomorrow to view a place on the other side of the river, for the powder; and that, in the mean time, a good proportion be sent to Portsmouth.

\* This noble Lord, when the Parliament met, gave no opposition to the popular party, in which his son was engaged. He died before the war broke out.

† Juxon, Bishop of London; an honest man; let alone, because inoffensive and inactive.

‡ Sir William Balfour.

|| Lord Cottington.

The

The Lord Cottington hath bought a thousand pair of shoes, and delivered them to the carriers of York; the other thousand shall be immediately sent.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

All that his Majesty ordered concerning the fortifying of the Tower is in hand.

The money to be sent away to-morrow.

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*Lord Conway to Secretary Windebanke.*

Mr. Secretary,

IF you have not heard from me of late, it was not want of will, but want of time; for I do assure you that, from the time the Scots came into England, until that I came to York, I had not time to eat or sleep. I would most gladly have written to you, because that I would have told you the day before, what should have happened the next; in hope that might have served to justify me, if those things did happen which were contrary to expectation. I hear that I have been blamed for my letters that I did write concerning what would happen, if the Scots did come in. Look upon my letters and see whether they were stories or no. Look upon the advice I did give; see what we do. For what I have done from the time that the Scotch army did come in, until the troops did quit Newcastle, I dare stand to the trial of foldiers; I do assure myself that I have not made any fault. Now, that the affairs are governed by \* another, I am not able to make a judgment; but the bare relation is, that the army here shall be entrenched close under the walls of this town; the horse must be sent into Richmond or Cleveland, to be near the river of Tees, to keep the Scots from making incursions into York-

9th Sept.

\* Lord Strafforde.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

shire. The Scots do order things in such a manner, that it appears as if they would not advance farther. We were in doubt that they might have surpris'd Hull, and therefore did send Sir Thomas Glenham with his regiment of twelve hundred men thither. I pray believe this much, that I shall ever be,

Your humble Servant,

York,  
this 9th of September, 1640.

CONWAY and KILULTA \*.

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*Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke.*

Right Honourable,

11th Sept.

UPON Friday, at twelve at noon, were brought unto me, your two packets of the 9th present. The Lords, nor yourself, will not wonder, that the copy of the Scotch petition arrived so speedily at the Queen's Court, since it was by his Majesty's especial order sent thither, by William Murray, of which I had no knowledge, but order to send it to you by Mr. Nicholas, the which I assure myself you have received from him, with a copy also of the petition of the Lords of England.

By what you have represented to his Majesty, I find, you have no apprehension, but that the Lords will be here at the day appointed, though you intimate some doubt thereof, in your dispatch to myself; we shall therefore prepare for them accordingly.

\* This noble Lord and Lord Strafforde, his conduct, which is printed. He never who had been great friends, were dissatisfied served in the civil wars, when good officers with each other, after the affair of Newburn; were formed on both sides; but much the best and Lord Conway has written an apology for on that of the Parliament.

Sir

Sir Kenelm Digby hath made his proposition here to his Majesty; and whatsoever your Honour's opinion may be thereof, and his, his Majesty, in his wisdom and judgment, bids me tell you, he holds it no ways seasonable, or practicable, at present.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

I am sorry to understand, that the Earl Marshal should grow every day more and more infirm. I could wish, as well in regard of his Majesty's affairs, as of himself, that he had more perfect health in this time of action. I never doubted of the Lord Cottington's, and your own industry and diligence; yet I am of the same opinion with you, that an army without money will rise slowly in this distempered time; though the law obliges all subjects, in case of invasion, to serve at their own charges.

You tell me, that you shall advise with the Lords concerning the business of Newcastle, and the coals, of which they have already great apprehensions; yet in your dispatch to his Majesty, you advise, that small vessels, such as ordnance may not be put into to be made ships of war, may continue the trade. But here his Majesty commands me to tell you, that you and my Lords should do well to advise with the Trinity House, and be well informed whether that will be means sufficient to supply the city with fuel or not, or whether any of the coasters ships be not such, as, should they be seized by the Scots at Newcastle, they might not be made frigates to put small pieces in, and so infest and trouble our coasts. This being secured, his Majesty approves of your advice, or any other way or means (that brings not a worse inconvenience along with it) to supply the city with fuel.

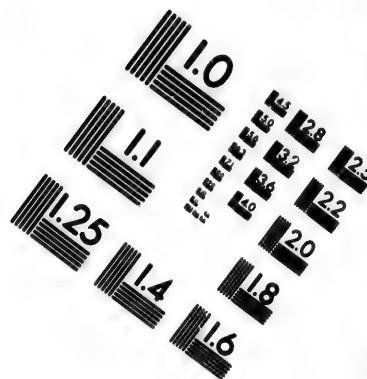
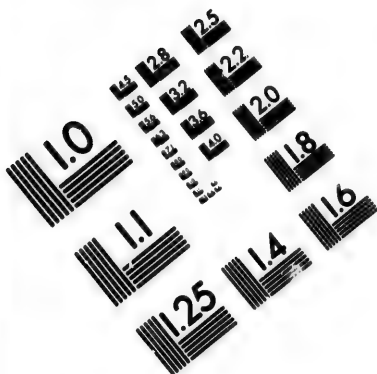
Yesterday in the afternoon, his Majesty took a view of his army, as well horse as foot, consisting of sixteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides the trained bands of Yorkshire. Braver bodies of men and better clad, have I not seen any where, for the foot. For the horse, they are such, as no man that sees them, by their outward appearance, but will judge them able to stand, and encounter

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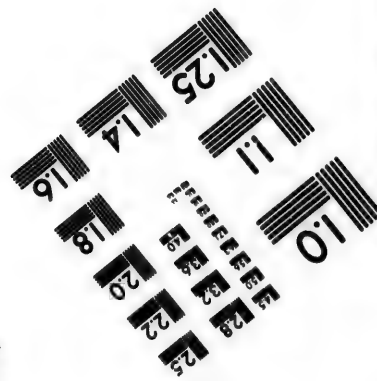
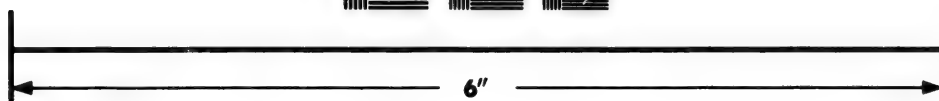
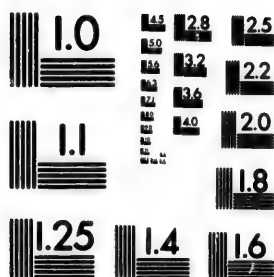
Sir







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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

ter with any whatsoever. Sure I am, that I have seen far meaner, in the King of Sweden's army, do strange and great execution; and by the report of all, they are far better than those they are to encounter, being but little nags most of them, and few or none at all armed but with lances and Scots pistols, of which I cannot learn they are above sixteen hundred. So, if God sends us hearts and hands, I cannot apprehend (have we conduct) how they should be able to resist the shock of ours, whensoever they shall meet. His Majesty hath also, of all sorts, forty-four good pieces of artillery, with their equipage; so as you do provide us monies in time, I do not see (though it must be confessed they have made but too far and prosperous advance already into this kingdom) but that, God being with his Majesty's army, success will follow. But should there be a failing of monies for these three months, no man can foresee the calamities and miseries both to King and state, that may thereupon ensue; and therefore, by his Majesty's command, you are to press the same to the Lords of the Committee effectually. His Majesty hath now, and so often, recommended the same to you by his royal pen, that I should not have spoken a word to you upon the subject, had it not been by his Majesty's express command.

His Majesty this day returns Mr. Flemming (whom I mentioned to you in my last) with answer to the letter he brought from the Scotch Rebels; the copies of both which you shall receive here enclosed, as also the demands of theirs to the town of Newcastle, and the Bishoprick; the like they have done also to Northumberland; by which it will be seen how they are like to suffer (be their pretences what they will) that fall under the power of the sword. And therefore his Majesty and my Lords here hold it fit, that their proceedings should be printed and published amongst you in the South, to move and stir you up to have a perfect sense of their sufferings, the better to induce them to a vigorous and timely supply; to prevent those calamities from spreading farther, which we now endure.

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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

The counties of Nottingham and Derby, have drawn their trained bands to the confines of their several counties, there attending and exercising their foot, until his Majesty send his farther orders. The horse, which are two troops, are this day joined to his Majesty's army; so as now, with the horse of Yorkshire, his Majesty hath two thousand five hundred horse. Leicestershire is in the same forwardness; but Stafford and Lincolnshire are not so ready; but 'tis hoped we shall hear of them shortly. His Majesty and my Lords are of opinion, that it were necessary that all the rest of the counties of England should be put into the same readiness, and, now their harvest is done, be drawn into some place to the confines of their several counties, there to exercise both horse and foot; that they may be ready on all occasions, upon a short summons, to march to the defence of the kingdom. And if my Lord Marshal, and the rest of the Lords, have not given order for the same, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you propose the same to their Lordships, that accordingly it may be put in execution, if their Lordships shall not find cause to the contrary. The president of Wales \* hath had his summons from his Majesty, to be in a readiness with all the trained bands and power he can make in that presidency, and the said forces to remain in their several counties until his Majesty's farther order; so as I conceive they will be in a readiness, whensoever they shall be commanded by his Majesty, or the Lord General of the South, as there shall be occasion.

I had almost forgot to tell you, that it is his Majesty pleasure, that the Lord Dorset should attend her Majesty and the council in the South; so as he is graciously pleased to dispense with his presence at the meeting here of the Peers 24th present.

You will be pleased to excuse me for sending you this dispatch in my Secretary's hand, for it hath been a busy day with me: Tomorrow his Majesty hath appointed a chapter to be called here of the

\* Earl of Bridgewater.

Knight.

The

CHARLES I. 1640. Knights of the Garter, when his Majesty intends to bestow the *cordons bleus* upon the Lieutenant \* General. And so I rest

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
this 11th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

The Lieutenant is much mended in his health, upon the avoiding of two stones this last night. You will give her Majesty communication of this dispatch, for I have not written to her.

There is come to Newcastle fifty wives of the better sort of the Lords and commanders; by this it is conjectured, they will not leave the place suddenly. You shall receive here inclosed a letter of Sir John Fenwicke, brought me this night.

---

*The Same to the Same.*

Sir,

13th Sept.

THIS is to tell you that this day the Lieutenant had the Blue Ribbon given him, being brought to his Majesty by the Marquis †, and the *Condé* ‡. Here hath been much business with the gentlemen of Yorkshire, to dispose them to levy two months pay for the payment of the trained bands of Yorkshire; and the last night a petition was agreed upon by the gentlemen in a high strain; concluding as the twelve Peers did for a Parliament; but this afternoon, the Lieutenant appointing to meet with all the Lords and gentlemen of the country in their great hall, after much debate, it was overuled by the major part of voices, to reject the petition; and

\* Lord Strafforde was Lieutenant General to the Earl of Northumberland.

† Of Hamilton.

‡ Earl of Holland, a nick-name.

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Cottingto

\* One of  
VOL. I

it was resolved to make a levy \* in the county, to pay the trained bands until the 24th current; after which the Lieutenant brought them to the king, and declared so much to his Majesty in the presence of the gentlemen, and with a farther declaration, that after the 24th, they hoped with the Peers to give his Majesty farther satisfaction. It was done with much alacrity and cheerfulness; whereupon his Majesty spake to the gentlemen himself, and declared unto them, that after this present occasion he would ease them, and take off from them six thousand foot; free them at present from their *escuage*; and that if any of their colonels or prime officers should be killed in this present service, he would give them their wardships, if their heir should be under age. This gave them great contentment, and his majesty was therewith so well pleased, that he commanded me to make a dispatch unto you thereupon. This good example in Yorkshire, I hope will induce the counties in the South to do the like. And so I rest

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
this 13th of September.

H. VANE.

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*Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke.*

Sir,

I GAVE you yesterday an account of what passed betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and the Yorkshire gentlemen. This day I received your's of the 11th present, with an inclosed to his Majesty, the which I presented unto him. I perceive, by the Lord Cottington's letter, as well as your own, forty-two thousand is all is

14th Sept.

\* One of the articles of impeachment against him, was the making this levy.



CHARLES  
I.

1640.

to be expected. He says, it shall come away with all diligence, but ascertains not the time; but it is not this will do the business; and I do much apprehend my Lord Marshal will not be able to divert the city's petitioning his Majesty for a Parliament, the distemper grows so universal.

It is advertised to this court, as well as by your's to his Majesty, that Hertford and Essex set out from London, towards this place, tomorrow, and that few of the other nobility will be here at the day appointed for meeting, which, should it fall out so, it were not well; but in such case, it is considerable whether it should be held or not; and that, I conceive, is worthy of the Lords advice above, who are upon the place, and may first and best discover the same. For the Turkish ambassador, his Majesty's answer is, he may yet stay where he is; for the Danish, he hears nothing yet of his errand, no more do I. When he doth, his Majesty bids me tell you, that both my Lords and yourself shall have knowledge thereof.

I had almost forgot to tell you, what I should have represented unto you in my last, which is, that, at my Lord Lieutenant's instance, the better to induce the Yorkshire gentlemen to grant a month's pay for their trained bands, his Majesty hath promised them not only to take off six thousand of their twelve thousand soldiers for the future, but to remit their escuage, and to give the wardship to all those that shall die on this service. I knew not of it, until his Majesty had declared to it the gentlemen. The other counties that he hath sent to rise with their forces, will no question expect the like; and so will also all the rest of the counties in the South, if they shall have occasion to rise; and therefore you shall do well to communicate this business to the Earl Marshal and the Lord Cottington; for this of the wardships may be of consequence, and so I have told his Majesty. My Lords and yourself may do well to advise hereupon, and then to let me know your opinions; for in the other counties here adjacent, I have advised his Majesty upon this occasion only to remit

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remit the escuage, and that concurs with my Lords opinions for the suspension of the proclamations.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

The Scots are now busy fortifying Newcastle, where, have four ships lately come, out of the East country with corn, so as for six months they are provided to furnish their army; besides Northumberland and the Bishopric at their devotion; out of which they will draw great advantages, both of profit and conveniency. I doubt you in the South do not yet apprehend the consequences of the loss of Newcastle; but a little time will make it appear; and in my judgment, I cannot find how it is possible, let his Majesty draw together what force he can, to get them out of that place this winter; so that by this you may see clearly what condition his Majesty's affairs are in.

They plant garrisons, and take up their winter-quarters, throughout Northumberland and the Bishopric; and so they may, for his Majesty's army cannot be in a posture fit to fight these six weeks. In what state we shall be by that time for money, you above know better than myself, and may better foresee the events, if God Almighty send not more unity among us, which of his great mercy grant us. And so I rest

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
this 14th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

16th Sept.

I KNOW nothing in yours of the 13th, that requires answer from me. Two of the King's ships are come, and lie before the Tyne mouth, and have order to hinder all trade, during the time the rebels shall hold Newcastle; so as I do not see how London can be supplied from thence with coals; for, as concerning the proposition, that vessels of small burthen should only trade, it is conceived, both by his Majesty, and my Lords here, that no vessels should be permitted to trade thither whatsoever; and that great and small vessels will be equally inconvenient.

Sir Peter Killegrew is returned this day from the prisoners \*, but cannot procure their liberty from the rebels, but upon such conditions as you shall see here inclosed.

The Scots do not yet advance farther than Durham, having brought that county into contribution, for which they pay 350 l. the day, Northumberland 300 l. in which are comprised the church and Roman Catholics at equal rates; yet the horse take hay and oats for nothing; all that keep their houses, nothing more is taken from them; if they find no dwellers in Newcastle, or the counties, those they plunder; but if an egg or chicken bring from those that pay contribution, they are certainly hanged for it. They keep a very severe discipline; I wish it were more practised on our side; for our horse and foot commit great insolencies, for which two were hanged yesterday.

His Majesty tells me, he sent you a command for the fortifying and making use of Portsmouth; he hath commanded me to second the same unto you, that it accordingly may be complied withal.

\* Those taken at Newburn; Wilmer, Digby, &c. afterwards officers in the civil wars.

His

# STATE PAPERS.

181

His Majesty read your postscript, and smiled when he met with Monfigot's putting you in mind of your mortality; and I doubt not, though money goes out fast at present, but that his Majesty will, if he were once at the end of these troubles, deal graciously with us, touching that office; and it is but reason, for we have done him service in it.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

We are in great expectancy of the 24th present; and of the Lords and Sir Francis Seymour coming down; though it is not expected by us here, that the meeting of the Peers will produce any thing more than a resolution for a Parliament; which word is thought sufficient, not only to put the Scots out of the kingdom, but a balm to cure all our sores.

If you ask this bearer, he will tell you how those of Newcastle suffer. God send a good conclusion to all our troubles; and send us unity amongst ourselves, and I shall not much apprehend yet the Scots, though they are upon the advantage ground. And so I rest

Your Honour's most humble servant,

York,  
this 16th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

THIS day, at nine in the morning, I received your's of the 16th, and in it a packet to his Majesty, which instantly I carried unto him. To divers of the particulars therein contained, you will receive answers from his royal pen; so as I have little at present to trouble you withal, more than to tell you, notwithstanding the Lords of the Council's advice for a Parliament, I do not find in his Majesty yet, any certain resolution for the same.

18th Sept.

The

His

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

The papers you sent inclosed to his Majesty, he hath put into my hands, the which require no reply; and for the printing of the papers, his Majesty commands me to tell you, that he holds it most fit that you should print them in the south, as we do also here upon the like occasions.

We are here in expectation of the meeting of the Peers, so as, until then, you are not like to hear much from me; besides, we have had so great rains these two days, that the waters are so out, that there is scarce means to pass any where upon the roads, and no intercourse is like to be further betwixt this camp and the rebels, until the Peers are assembled. You may rest confident of his Majesty's care to regain what the Scots have got upon this kingdom, so you furnish him with money timely, and according to the hopes have been given to his Majesty, since his coming to this place. In a word, if 42,000*l.* come not, and that speedily, the army being now out of pay, what inconveniences may thereupon follow, the Lords and yourself may apprehend, considering but how the times are at present conditioned; and the rebels within five or six days march at the farthest.

I send you here inclosed the Captain of the Holy Island's letter unto me, by his Majesty's command; you are to shew it to the Lord Treasurer and Cottingham, and to move them for to give order for his present relief. I have spoken often to my Lord Treasurer concerning the same before my coming out of the south. The best way to supply him now, will be by the paymaster of Berwick; for which, it is his Majesty's pleasure, present order should be given, lest else it might fall into the enemy's hands, which would be prevented; it being a place of too great importance to let fall into their hands through neglect. And so I kiss your Honour's hands, and rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 18.<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

**T**HIS day, about eleven o'clock, arrived your letters of the 18th; 20th Sept.  
in the afternoon, the Denmark Ambassadors, who, to-morrow at one of the clock, are to have audience of his Majesty. When your covenanting Minister and the Londoners arrive here, his Majesty will resolve what to do with them; and I did never doubt, since the twelve Lords had presented their petition to his Majesty, but that many more of the nobility would sign with them.

Since my last, Lieutenant Smith, that commanded Sir John Digby's troop, with sixty horse, surpris'd Sir Alexander Douglas, Major to Colonel Ramsay, that took Sir John Digby prisoner, who came into Yorkshire with a party of horse over the Tees, and were plundering a house of one Mr. Pudsey's, who gave notice to our troops of their being there. Captain John Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, with three or four troops cut off their pass at Croft-brigg. The great rains that fell made the river not fordable; so as two of them offering to swim the river, were drowned; twenty-one that resisted were killed on the place; thirty-seven taken prisoners; and all the officers and the horses of the whole troop, with such arms as they had, which are but mean; and so are all their horse. By this you see we begin to recover our hearts and courage\*. You are not to expect voluminous dispatches before the meeting of the Peers. Nine of them came to Doncaster on Saturday last, and will be here

\* This skirmish has been so improved by some frivolous historians, that they have built upon it the story of Lord Strafforde's having offered at this juncture, if the army was put in motion, to drive the Scots out of England; but the circumstances of the time, and his own opinion, as stated in these letters, make it impossible to be true.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

to-morrow. We expect a full assembly, from the assurance you give us here. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 20th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

---

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

22d Sept.

**H**ERE are this day arrived many of the Peers, so as I conceive it will be a full assembly. I do not think it can hold many days, it being but preparatory to Parliament; without which, it is believed impossible to settle and quiet the hearts and minds of men.

This day was presented unto his Majesty, the petition from London. You were not well informed thereof, for there are to it four Aldermen's hands, and not so few, I think, as ten thousand others. It is not his Majesty's opinion, nor any of the Lords of the Council (as this time is conditioned) that either they, Burgefs the Minister, or any other, that hath, or should deliver petitions of this kind to his Majesty, should be committed.

His Majesty hath commanded me to signify his pleasure unto you, that you let the Lord Treasurer and Cottington know, that upon a letter lately sent hither from the Lord Admiral, representing the necessity of maintaining a Winter guard at sea; the dishonour of letting it fall, until he see more clearly through the difficulties of his affairs; as also the ill consequences unto his Majesty's forces here, together with the great prejudices the rebels suffer by his Majesty's ships lying



ing at Tynmouth, as hath been made known also to his Majesty by the Lord Lieutenant. Upon these considerations, you are to let these two Lords know, that they are presently to take order for the dispatch of these services, importing much both the honour and safety of the State; but the monies designed for the army are not to be made use of; for even that which was promised, falls short; yet some means must be found for the other, as you will understand from his Majesty's sacred pen by this dispatch; though in his last to you, he did command the contrary. I have written to the same effect concerning his Majesty's pleasure, touching this sea-service, both to the Lords Treasurer and Admiral, by his Majesty's express order.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

It is his Majesty's farther pleasure, that, with what diligence you conveniently may, you send me hither *in forma*, all the proceedings and acts that passed the last Winter at the Council-table, concerning the Scottish business.

The castle of Edinburgh is delivered up by General Ruthven; he and his men are to come to Berwick, and with him two pieces of cannon. The rebels have taken Caliverocke, and have put all to the sword, but the Earl of Niddisdale, his lady and his page; they killed forty of the name of Maxwell; and many were also killed of the besiegers, before it was delivered up. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 22d of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

24th Sept.

**T**HIS day I sent you word, that his Majesty had declared his resolution for the summoning of a Parliament to be held the 3d of December next. You shall receive here inclosed, the copy of his Majesty's speech to the Peers, at the opening of the assembly. I have not known his Majesty express himself better, since I have had the honour to serve him; and it was to the great satisfaction and contentment of all that heard him.

This, with the forms spent the morning; at two after dinner, the King and Peers met again, when at first it was proposed by the Earl of Bristol, to enter into a treaty with the rebels; most of the Lords being confident they have it in their power to make peace; but my opinion is, it will not be an easy work. Hereupon, after some debate, they resolved to name Commissioners, to meet and treat with the rebels upon an accommodation; they named sixteen of the Peers, and appointed the place of meeting to be at Northallerton; the names of which you shall receive here enclosed. I had almost forgot to tell you, that his Majesty and the great Council were not sat an hour, but a packet was brought to the Lord Lanerick, from the rebels, with a new petition from them to his Majesty, supplicating in a more mannerly stile than formerly; the copy of which, that you may the better judge of their proceeding, I send you herewith. The Earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerick, were by his Majesty commanded to assist in this assembly, and sat behind the King's chair. The reason was, that Traquair was commanded to make the same relation \* to the Peers, which he formerly did at the

\* Lord Clarendon appears to have been appointed to explain the King's proceedings quite mistaken in saying, that no-body was in Scotland to this meeting.

Council-

Council-table, which was the ground upon which the Lords advised his Majesty, rather than to yield unto such demands, to reduce the rebels by force.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

Mr. Bellaffis, the Lord Falconbridge's youngest son, was dispatched this night to the Scottish camp, to give them knowledge of the resolution of this day; that on Wednesday or Thursday next, they may meet at the place appointed, that they may speedily put an end to this unhappy business; for that as the state of his Majesty's affairs is at present, they will not admit of delay without danger. God of his mercy send us a happy conclusion at last, and direct these Lords right in this difficult business, which I cannot yet understand to be other.

To-morrow the assembly meets again at nine of the clock, when is to be debated how his Majesty's army is to be kept on foot and maintained, until the supplies of a Parliament may be had. If a good expedient may be found for this, I conceive it will much facilitate the treaty. The Lords seem all to be very sensible of the consequences that may follow, both to King and kingdom, should his Majesty's army disband before the Scots be put out of the kingdom; and therefore I hope my next will give you a good account hereof.

His Majesty was no sooner sat in his chair this morning, but the Lords, by the mouth of the Earl of Bristol, desired justice upon Sir William Bartley, for having said, that the rebels had thirty-seven of the heads of the nobility, that invited them to come into England; if he be not able to make it good, they are sharp upon him, but I hope he will be able to clear himself \*. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 24th of Sept. 1640. H. VANE.

\* This was the first getting out of the story soon after to this Lord, proves that he had of the letter and subscription forged by the betrayed some secrets, to ingratiate himself Lord Saville. The King's favour shewn so with the Court.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

25th Sept.

**H**IS Majesty did yesterday so seasonably declare himself for a Parliament, that this day, when the question was proposed how to maintain his Majesty's army until the Parliament, it having been advised unanimously by all the Lords, that it was not safe, during the Scots being in the kingdom, nor counselable, for his Majesty to disband his army; it is not to be expressed by me, with what chearfulness and alacrity the Lords, all of them, entered into debate how to find the means to do it, his Majesty's treasure being exhausted; and after a little time spent, unanimously resolved, that the sum that was to be provided was 200,000*l.* and that to be borrowed from the city; for the better effecting whereof, a letter is conceived, and is to be signed by all the Lords to the city, for the same. The Lords Treasurer and Cottington are to offer them security from his Majesty, which if the city shall not accept, they have resolved, and instructions are given from the assembly to six of the Lords, deputed to treat with the city, and are intrusted from the rest to carry this letter; which are Privy Seal, Chamberlain, Clare, Cambden, Coventry, and Goring; and these are to go Southward to-morrow, and purpose to be at London on Tuesday next.

To-morrow, at eight in the morning, the assembly meets, to prepare for the meeting with the Scots; which is now changed from Northallerton, to be at Rippon, as the most lodgeable and convenient place, and to digest upon what grounds the English commissioners shall proceed. I am commanded by his Majesty, and desired by the Lords, to attend this service; which I conceive it will be difficult to bring to a good conclusion. You have long known my opinion of these, and you will witness with me, that I have not been deceived

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in my judgment of them; but *salus populi est suprema lex*, which I do foresee is like to be the compass which we shall sail by. If the pacification could be the medium, I conceive it were to be endeavoured by us; but I do apprehend ruder conditions; and that we shew so much our desires to peace, that they will grow the more insolent upon us \*. I shall send your bills and letters signed by the next. And so I kiss your hands, and rest

CHARLES  
I.

1640.

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 15th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

HIS Majesty having, as you know, given order for the summon- 27th Sept.  
ing of a Parliament, hath received divers petitions from several parts of the kingdom, representing their many grievances; and to the end he may the better facilitate the work he hath in hand, and sweeten his proceedings therein, he hath commanded me to let you know, that he is pleased to release all those, who have been formerly committed to the fleet, or other prisons, for refusing to pay coat and conduct money; and that your Lordships, at the board, consider what other prisoners are committed from thence, for such matters as may raise disputes in the ensuing Parliament (thereby to give impediment to his affairs) that thereupon you may give such order for their discharge, or otherwise, as their Lordships shall conceive to be best for his Majesty's service. Whereunto his Majesty (of his

\* The pacification was so loose and indistinct, that each party put their own meaning upon it, and consequently it degenerated an agreement, that each party put their own meaning upon it, and consequently it degenerated nothing.

OWN

CHARLES  
F.  
1640.

own gracious accord, to testify his royal intentions to proceed clearly) is the rather induced, that he may (if it be possible) make this a happy meeting, and, by his goodness, prevent this present assembly here, who may peradventure in the conclusion move him thereunto. So recommending to your especial care, these his Majesty's commands, I remain

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

I send you here inclosed, by his Majesty's command, a note of such names of his Majesty's servants as he thinks fit should be provided as burgeses to attend this present Parliament; and it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you speak with the Lord Chamberlain \* concerning the same, his Majesty expecting some help from his Lordship. For the others, you are to see them provided out of such places, as are in her Majesty's, and in his Highness's the Prince's gift. You will cause letters therefore to be written accordingly.

This day at twelve of the clock, I received your's of the 25th of September, 1640.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

THE Scots commissioners appointed to meet with our eight Earls, and as many Barons, are, the Earl of Dumfermlin, Lord Loudon, Sheriff of Tiviotdale, Lord of Wigton, Master Alexander Henderson, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Archibald Johnston. Number and quality we have; and a good cause; God grant we manage it. Besides, there are assistants, the Earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerick, and myself; on Thursday we meet at Rippon, and if we be overreached in treaty, we have precedent for it, our predecessors have done so before us. I gave you order from his Majesty in my

\* Earl of Pembroke.

last,

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

last, that you should release all the Buckinghamshire men and others, that were imprisoned from the council table, for coat and conduct money; as also, that their Lordships should take into consideration the releasing and setting free all other prisoners that were committed from the council, and now in prison; it being his Majesty's express pleasure, that thereby the minds of his Majesty's subjects may be the better prepared and sweetened for a Parliament. This I shall desire you to take care of, if it be not already done; for that I conceive it will be most necessary to be done for his Majesty's service. I hope your Londoners will lend the 200,000*l*. If that be, I doubt not but we shall do well, and bring the Scots to reason; if otherwise, I will say to you, his Majesty is in a most unhappy condition and dangerous; but I shall hope the best. His Majesty goes to-morrow to Hull, but returns hither on Thursday; that morning the English commissioners go to Rippon, with the assistants from this town. Here inclosed you shall receive your three letters you sent me, with the bills signed. My Lord Ethericke, with the governor of Dunbarton, arrived at court, this evening, both full of the scurvy.

To-morrow, my Lord Littleton † and Mr. Attorney ‡, take their journey from this place towards the South, who, if you handle them right, will tell you of many good passages that hath been amongst the Peers this assembly; wherein the Lord Strafforde hath had his part; the Earl of Bristol hath spoken much, and freely; Berkshire is not silent; but I hope all will end well. The pacification is made the ground of the treaty, and now cried up and justified by all *nemine contradicente*; the truth is, if a good peace can be had, it will not be refused. And so I rest

Your most humble, &amp;c.

H. VANE.

York,  
this 29th Sept. 1640.

† Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. ‡ Herbert.

Mr.



CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Mr. Sydenham hath spoken to his Majesty for his favour, concerning that allowance Witherings gave him out of the Post-office; he hath also spoken with me. I have made him answer, I can say nothing to it, for that the office is but sequestered; neither can I make any answer to it at all, without communicating with you; that it will be time for him to speak to the king of this business, when the office is settled, it being now in sequestration. I pray tell me by your next, how you like this answer.

The Scottish commissioners would not come upon his Majesty's safe-conduct, but demanded the Peers subscription to it. That was not thought fit; but the Peers all writ a letter to them, testifying that his Majesty signed and sealed it in the presence of them.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

1st October.

UPON Wednesday morning, I received your's of the 28th of the last. I am heartily sorry to hear that the Admiral \* mends so slowly, and that his weakness continues still upon him. The Lord Lieutenant here grows strong; which is well, for his Majesty's affairs require whole and sound men. I have forgotten in my two last, to tell you, that the Denmark ambassadors, on Sunday last, took leave of his Majesty. Their errand was, to interpose betwixt his Majesty and his subjects; which he excused. Of Sir Thomas Rowe's treaty, *point des nouvelles*. His Majesty spoke to them of it himself; and by his order, so did I; whereupon they told me plainly, they had no orders so much as to speak of it. I am this day going with the Lords to Rippon. I assure myself, you and my Lords have discharged the Buckinghamshire men, and the rest that

\* Earl of Northumberland.

were committed for coat and conduct money; and such others, according to his Majesty's order which I signified unto you, that stood committed by my Lords; that his Majesty may come to the Parliament, so as all unnecessary disputes may be avoided, and time husbanded. And so I rest

CHARLES

I.

1640.

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

York,  
this 11th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

**Y**OUR letter of the 3d present, came to me yesterday at Rippon, 6th October.

whence I presently sent the dispatch unto his Majesty; and this day, coming myself hither, I received your other dispatch of the 4th by Mr. Progers, who brought likewise the letters from the Lords Committees, whereat both his Majesty and the whole assembly remained very much satisfied. Their letter speaks very positively of the readiness of the city to furnish the whole sum; whereas your's implies only a hope; but I will believe rather, that they will make good what the Lords Committees have expressed in their behalf; and then no doubt but the Scotch will let much fall of their demands; which are as yet very high and vast.

This day arrived here from Rippon, the Lords Hertford, Bristol, Holland, Wharton, and Saville, for to give account to his Majesty and the Peers, of their proceedings; and appear to be sensible of the exorbitancy of their demands; which are no less than the maintenance of their army; for which they ask forty thousand

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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

pounds a month; and leave to the Lords how and where to raise it. This afternoon they begun to treat thereof in the assembly; to-morrow some resolution will be taken, with which the Lords may return, and whereof I shall advertise you accordingly.

The Letter for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of London, his Majesty will send with the first; but being full of business this evening, it cannot go herewith. You will be pleased to excuse my not writing with my own hand. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 6th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

The Scottish Lords will not admit neither the Lord of Traquair, nor any of the assistants, to be present at the treaty. The English commissioners, by reason of the small-pox being at Rippon, are suitors to his Majesty, to recal the treaty to York from Rippon, which will be resolved to-morrow.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

THIS is to acknowledge the receipt of your 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th of this present, and to tell you, that our treaty with the Scots advances not, they persisting in their first proposition; that until they know how their army should subsist at Newcastle, their powers did not warrant them to treat of any other particular. So as you see where they intend to lodge their army this winter; and peace certainly there will be none, unless ratified by the Parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland: a cessation of arms may be

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# STATE PAPERS.

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CHARLES

I.  
1640.

peradventure obtained, so England maintain their army, until the peace be confirmed in Parliament. The difficulties that we are like to meet with in maintaining a war, your last hath given me full and entire satisfaction. This day the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Mandeville, deputed from the rest of the English Lords commissioners at Rippon, brought his Majesty a paper presented from the Scottish commissioners unto them; they delivered it unto his Majesty, there being present only Hertford and Bristol. I shall say nothing more of the paper, because you shall receive it here inclosed. After his Majesty had spoken with these Lords, he assembled the Peers, where the paper was read, the Lieutenant present. The Scots now make difficulty of coming to York, for the causes alledged in the paper; but the two Lords have order to return to Rippon, not doubting but they will so dispose of the business, that they may peradventure induce the Scots commissioners to come to York. However, all but four commissioners of the English (who, in case the Scots should formalize thereupon, are to stay there with them) are commanded by his Majesty to repair hither. I send you here inclosed, a bill signed by his Majesty, which the Lords Grace of Canterbury sent to his Majesty. I pray deliver it unto him, and with it, my humble service. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 9th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

His Majesty formerly commanded me to write to the Lord Treasurer and Cottington, that they should take care, that, above all things, there should be provided money to pay off the mariners, as the ships come in. He commanded me to signify his pleasure unto you, to call upon their Lordships for the same; that when he returns, he may not receive an affront, if the mariners be not paid.

C c 2

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde, to the Same.*

Sir,

9th October.

**Y**OUR favours and respects to me do but give me encouragement to increase your trouble. You may do well to forbear any more returns to me, since they are likely to draw these prejudices upon you; finding a boldness steal upon me, that I was not formerly capable of, by my conversation in the court and in the army, where that quality may best be learned.

The good success you have had in your treaty at London, was joyfully received here, as a probable inducement of much happiness both to the King and kingdom; but I do not find it will be of power to remove the Scots from their strong hold of Newcastle, since my Lord Lieutenant hath in public declared an impossibility to regain that place this winter, and did likewise give Cumberland and Westmorland for lost, if they attempt it; the most of his undertaking being a hope to preserve Yorkshire.

The Scotch treaty is to be removed from Rippon hither. I cannot conceive what effects it can produce, more than the drawing up of some particulars, by way of preparation for the Parliament. Their present demand is forty thousand pounds a month for maintenance of their army, and so to free the country from contribution, until they are secured to have redress of their grievances.

The strangest news I can inform you of is, that my Lord Lieutenant did invite me to dinner upon Wednesday last, but I was so modest, as to refuse that honour, and to forbear to trouble his Lordship, until I find more reality, and better grounds, to profess myself his servant, by my attendance upon him; and when the Parliament

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Parliament doth sit, the day will come shall pay for all. I beseech  
you pardon this scribbled presumption of

CHARLES  
I.

1640.

Your most assured friend to serve you,

York,  
the 9th of October, 1640.

ST. ALBANS & CLANRICARDE.

*Mr. Treasurer Vane to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

THIS morning, at nine of the clock, I received yours of the 11th Oct.  
ninth. I shall begin with the cheefemongers petition, and give  
you his Majesty's pleasure thereupon, which is, that he leaves to the  
Lords free power to give liberty to Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, to  
bring butter and cheese to London, as also grain; his Majesty not  
doubting of the Londoners care, to prevent transporting of grain  
beyond the sea; for that in these parts, these great rains that have  
fallen, have made an ill harvest, and corn is like to prove very dear;  
besides, it being so unhappy as to be made the seat of war, the peo-  
ple, if they starve not, must be supplied out of the south; and so,  
here inclosed, you shall receive the cheefemongers petition from me.

The treaty hath been required by his Majesty (as I advertised you  
in my last) to be brought from Rippon to York; but the Scots, who  
give the law, will not depart from their grounds one tittle. His  
Majesty and the Peers met this afternoon, where it was resolved to  
continue the treaty at Rippon still, and not break upon a punctilio  
for the place; but they pressing much a speedy answer to their de-  
mands, his Majesty hath thought fit, with the advice of his Peers  
that assisted, to send for those at Rippon, and on Tuesday to send  
back the Commissioners thither, with such resolutions as shall be  
taken.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

taken to-morrow when the assembly meets, which will be at two of the clock. I had almost forgot to tell you, that the rebels have sent their Commissioners powers to treat and conclude; they expect his Majesty should give the English the like; but I do not find they will send any more Commissioners than the first; for the rest, I shall refer you to the papers here inclosed.

When I observed unto you, the difference betwixt the Privy Seal's and yours, it was not I conceived you to be mistaken. God send us the first 50,000l. at the day; the rest to follow; and that you agree upon the security. For we have many Thomas's amongst us; and should the city grow cold, or the Great Council not proceed by unanimous consent, either may make a great disorder in his Majesty's affairs. I do well remember, that when the Peers agreed to write to the city for the 200,000l. they resolved, all of them, to give any security for the same but land, if I be not mistaken. Thus much I thought fit to give notice of to you, since the security is not yet agreed. Dispatch it as soon as may be, and let the money come down; for, besides the want thereof for the soldier, many here have not a strong faith, nor will believe until it be at York. I pray God to send a happy conclusion of this treaty and assembly. And so rest ever

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

H. VANE.

York,  
this 11th of Oct. 1640.

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# STATE PAPERS.

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CHARLES

I.  
1640.

## *The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

**A**S his Majesty and my Lords were sitting in the assembly, I received your last this afternoon, where I acquainted the Lord Keeper of the distaste that was taken by the city, and divers other of the Lords and Bishops, that they had not received yet their writs of summons to attend in Parliament; and that this you had in charge from the Lords of the Council to advertise me of, that his Lordship might speedily dispatch them; which he hath promised shall be done accordingly.

I writ to the Queen and the Lord Privy Seal, to whom I sent his Majesty's letter to the city, by my Lord of Newcastle's man; it being by his Majesty's expresse command, that I made a dispatch to her Majesty and his Lordship; that he, with the committee being principally entrusted with the negociation with the city for the 200,000*l.* it was fit for them to have the dispatch. Since which, you have heard at large from me, and I presume you will not say I have been negligent in my correspondency; and therefore, being then straitned in time, you will excuse me.

His Majesty and my Lords have spent all this day in consulting what answer to make to the last papers were sent from the Scottish Commissioners, the which I sent you in my dispatch of the 11th present. The result of all which is, that the Lords are to return tomorrow to Rippon, with full powers from his Majesty to treat and conclude; with some additional memorials, which were with the advice and consent of the Peers; the copy whereof you shall receive here inclosed. I hope four or five days will discover what are the real intentions of the Scots, whether they intend peace or not; though they are subtle and very close; and certainly must be principally

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

pally intended by the Lords Commissioners ; for the Parliament draws on fast, where his Majesty will be certainly at the day ; and nothing concerns him so much in these exigents and difficulties (next money) as the streight of time which he is now left upon, and ought to be well husbanded.

I have no more to trouble you with at present, but to tell you, as I was closing my letter, my Lord Keeper sent word, that the writs were all sealed ten days past, and put into the messengers hands, which I hope you will enquire after, and see punished. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York,  
this 13th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

*Secretary Windebanke to the Earl of Northumberland.*

My Lord,

13th Oct.

ABOUT three weeks since, I represented to his Majesty an advice that came to me from Sir Thomas Rowe \*, that sundry Scotch commanders and principal officers serving the Crown of Sweden, had then obtained licence to leave that service, and were ready to come from those parts, with a purpose to join themselves with the rebels of Scotland. His Majesty's answer was, that he had given your Lordship order in it ; and that you were to take care to intercept them in their passage. There is now very lately come to me, a confirmation of the truth of that advice, by a Scottish gentleman, that was an eye-witness of it, upon Friday se'nnight ; who assures me,

\* He had been Ambassador at Hamburgh, and had very good German intelligence.

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he then saw at Gottenburgh, divers of those Scottish commanders ready to embark; and that there were three Scottish ships there in readiness to receive them, and to transport with them very great quantities of ammunition and arms. He farther assures, that all this last Summer, there hath been the greatest commerce at Gottenburgh from Scotland that hath ever been known; and that Scottish vessels have continually passed thither and returned, notwithstanding any of his Majesty's ships, either at Tinmouth or any other part; of which ships of his Majesty they speak with great scorn and contempt.

This coming to my knowledge, and conceiving it to be of imminent weight to his Majesty's affairs to prevent the conjunction of so considerable and dangerous a reinforcement, both of men and ammunition, with the rebels, I held it my duty to represent it to your Lordship; to whose care this service properly belongeth, humbly submitting it to your wisdom \*. And so, &c.

Drury-lane,  
13th October, 1649.

CHARLES  
I.  
1649.

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*Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke.*

Right Honourable,

I AM glad to understand by yours of the 14th, that you are so just and equal, as upon second thoughts not to be angry, for which certainly I shall never endeavour to give you cause in the least degree; if I do, I shall not be ashamed to ask your pardon.

\* The Earl of Northumberland was often to the Covenanters. The great ships were ill when he should have been active and in fitted out and laid up again, when small ones business, and did not take proper and early were most proper, measures for intercepting the foreign supplies

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

I was upon Thursday last, by his Majesty's command, at the desire of the Peers, sent to Rippon (where yours found me) to be assistant at the treaty, with the Commissioners; and though the three others my companions be in this town, yet they are not admitted to be present, but to be ready whensoever the English Commissioners shall call for them; for the Scots will not admit them to be present at the debates. What hath past at the treaty since my last, the papers themselves will tell you, which the English have delivered to the Scots, which you shall receive; and I conceive there will be little doubt of the Scots acceptance.

The Earls of Hertford, Bristol, Holland, and Lord Mandeville, are sent this day from the English Commissioners to his Majesty, to consult the papers with him and the Peers; and to return with the approbation both of his Majesty, and that assembly.

I do perceive, not only by your last, but by one I have received from the Privy Seal, that it was he, not you, that was deceived in the account of the city business. I received, just now, a letter from his Majesty, by which I perceive himself will quicken the dispatch, which else I should have done if I had been at Court, and that it had been necessary.

If there be not something still in the dark, I do not see, but when our four Lords are returned from York, which we expect to-morrow after dinner, or on Monday morning, but that two days after may finish the treaty; and then you may look that his Majesty, within three or four days more, may look southward. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

Rippon,  
this 17th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

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CHARLES

I.

1640.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

**T**HIS is only to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 16th, 20th Oct.  
and to serve for a cover to a paquet directed unto me from the  
Lord Keeper by his Majesty's command, to the Lord Privy Seal. It  
concerns the city business, for the quickening them in their payment  
of their monies to his Majesty; there being two letters from the Lords  
the Peers, the one to the Committee, the other to the Lord Mayor,  
concerning the same. I am this day leaving this place, and going  
to York, to prepare and take order for his Majesty's return into the  
south; which, though the day be not yet certain, cannot now be  
retarded; from thence you shall hear more particularly from me,  
both of the treaty, and what else occurs. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

Rippon,  
this 20th of October 1640.

H. VANE.

*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

**H**IS Majesty being now upon his return southward, and myself 21st October.  
being commanded by him to go to-morrow to Rippon to the  
Commissioners, and to return hither at night, I have only time to  
tell you, that this day I received yours of the 19th, and to transmit  
these inclosed papers unto you; by which you will see how the  
treaty stands at present.

D d 2

I thank

CHARLES

I.

1640.

I thank you for the advertisement you gave me of the Denmark's Ambassador's exceptions; though he hath the same titles given him, his Majesty gives the Prince of England, or to the Infante Cardinal; for to them is given *celstudo*, not *serenitas*. But I shall to-morrow dispatch another letter and send it to you, I having now no time; and if the Ambassadors be gone, it may be sent after. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

York,  
the 21st of Oct. 1640, Twelve at night.

H. VANE.

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*The Same to the Same.*

Right Honourable,

23d Oct.

I RECEIVED yours of the 21st present this day at twelve of the clock, and we are in as great a calm as you mention my Lords are in the Star Chamber or Council Table; for the Commissioners at Rippon are agreed of the cessation, and the treaty is remitted from Rippon to the Parliament, whither those of Scotland are to send deputies. To-morrow those from Rippon are expected here, I mean the English Lords; on Sunday I conceive they will make their report to the Great Council of their proceedings; and on Monday, the Keeper, with the Peers, will take their journey southward; his Majesty on Tuesday; and, for myself, by his command, I am not like to stir, but to see the last man born; the ways are so ill, that I purpose not to ride post; by the eve of the Parliament I hope I shall get to Whitehall, sooner you are not to look for me. His Grace of York, it is thought, will not escape this sickness, which is now seized upon him. His Majesty hath made difficulty to give the Prince of Denmark *serenissimo*; but I have at last prevailed, and you shall receive it here inclosed.

Your Honour's, &amp;c.

York,  
the 23d of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*The Lord Keeper Finch to the Queen.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

YOUR Majesty, I know, hath had from Mr. Henry Percy a <sup>23d October.</sup> particular account of the proceedings both at York and Rippon, till the 22d of this month. What hath since passed, I am glad none can give you so just a relation of as myself; because I have thereby the happiness of presenting my humble duty and service to your Majesty, to whom no man stands more obliged, nor can be more ambitious of expressing it. Yesterday, being the 22d of this month, I received a letter from the Commissioners at Rippon, of which I send your Majesty a copy herewith. This I presently acquainted the King with, and had his directions to return an answer to them that night, which I did. I cannot send your Majesty a copy of it, having had no time to take any; but it was to this effect, That his Majesty never intended to hold the treaty at Rippon longer than their Lordships should think convenient for his service, the safety of the kingdom, and their own contentment; that he did, and still doth resolve to adjourn the treaty to London; but he forbore the declaration of it for a day or two, that it might appear to be done with the more deliberation; and chiefly, that the Scots might thereby be the better induced to give a clear and full explanation of what they stood upon; and that his Majesty expected their Lordships being here at York on Saturday; at which time, if they should so advise, his Majesty would give order for the adjournment.

This afternoon Sir Peter Killegrew (who carried my letter) returned with two letters from the Commissioners, one to his Majesty, the other to myself; of both which, I also send your Majesty the copies. His Majesty presently gave me order to draw an instrument, which he signed, giving the Commissioners power to



CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

treat and settle with the Scots, all particulars concerning the adjournment of the treaty to London. And, by his Majesty's direction, I also wrote unto them a letter, with which I sent the powers under his Majesty's hand, and therein, by his Majesty's command, recommended to their Lordships care, the matter of cessation of arms, and the endeavouring, by all possible means, before their coming from Rippon, to get the Scots to set down their demands so clearly, that his Majesty might know the uttermost of what they expected. Of these two, I can send your Majesty no copies; for, as soon as I had written them, they were sent away to Rippon, and this night will be delivered to the Lords Commissioners. I expect hereupon they will be here some time to morrow; and on Sunday in the afternoon, I believe, his Majesty will call the Great Council together; where, when the Commissioners have given account of their proceedings at Rippon, I can yet foresee nothing more to be done here, but that the Great Council will then dissolve, and we may be coming towards London on Monday; where I can never hope for better content than in waiting on your Majesty, and being a witness of your Majesty's health, which is always in the best devotions of

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most faithful devoted servant,

York, Friday night,  
23d October, 1640.

JO. FINCH, C\*.

\* It is plain from this letter, that Finch was made Lord Keeper by the Queen's interest.

CHARLES

I.

1645.

*Earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windes-  
banke.*

Sir,

THERE being a cessation of arms agreed upon, and the per-  
fecting of the treaty transferred to London, we have little  
matter left for intelligence of public affairs. 26th Oct.

Having found such admirable patience in your royal Master, I shall with the more boldness presume upon your's, by giving you some account thereof. Yesterday, in the afternoon, there happened a very sharp rencounter (in his Majesty's presence) between my Lord Lieutenant and myself, which lasted above two hours†; and neither my resolution nor memory failed me, to express what could be objected against such a person, by one so much injured as I conceived myself to be; and the debate had this conclusion, I have recovered all my tenures and chieffries, that were so much threatened to be taken from me; and the King will make good his former grant, and the Lieutenant did engage himself to obey it; and to give direction for the dispatch of it in Ireland. Only it doth stick upon this point; he, under pretence of service to the King, would have Athleag, a principal manor of mine in the county of Roscommon, and give me land for it, to the full value, in the county of Galway; and the King (as I conceive), more out of compassion to him in this conflict, than any necessity of his service, requires my promise of this, before he confirms his former order. I have yet absolutely refused it, as being contrary to his Majesty's instructions; and that, if I admit of a breach in one part, it may run over all, and mangle my whole estate; for he would not particularly declare

† King Charles was patient and candid in hearing complaints, when not prejudiced against the persons.

what:

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I.

1640.

what other exchanges should be required for the advancement of that great service. And this concluded the conference for the last night, to be this day renewed.

Give me farther leave to intreat the favour as to present my humble service unto my Lord Cottington; and be pleased to impart unto him, this encounter of mine with his *especial friend*\*; and if he will not easily pardon this offence, I may grow desperate, and be apt to commit the same fault often. I have now no time to write to his Lordship, nor to add any more to this, than constantly to profess myself

Your most assured friend to serve you,

York,  
the 26th of October, 1640.

ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE.

---

*In the Great Council of the Peers, at York, Tuesday 25th  
September 1640, in the Forenoon.*

P R E S E N T,

The King's most excellent Majesty,

Lord Keeper,

Lord Chamberlain of the King,

Lord Privy Seal,

Earl of Shrewsbury, &c. &c. &c.

Marquis of Winchester,

By the King's command.

Petitions of Durham and Northumberland read.

*Earl of Strafforde.*

Great incommodity for the Lords to meet at Northallerton. Rip-  
pon the better place.

\* Lord Strafforde.

*House's*

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*House's resolution*

To have the meeting at Rippon.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

*King commanded*

The Lord Lanerick's answer of the 24th of September 1640, to the Scottish Earls letter and petition last sent, to be read.

*Bishop of Durham\*.*

The petitions of the country express their calamities. He adds, that the Lords commissioners may be prepared to answer the Scots, that say, the King hath commanded them to stay where they are, and therefore must be supplied.

His humble desire that a motion may be made to the Scots Lords, by the commissioners, to forbear all hostility during the treaty.

*King.*

Before the commissioners go, to think what to do and say in that particular.

His Majesty desires the Lords to go to the business of the day, viz. the second proposition.

*Lord Saville.*

The proposition, how the army shall be supplied? It had been good preventing the ill.

That those of the King's officers, that know the strength of his Majesty's treasury, do give the Lords information.

*King.*

If it had not been for some in London, the King would not have wanted.

The King, for a reasonable time, can cause his army to subsist.

Unluckiness in his Majesty and his ministers, else he had not wanted money.

\* Morton.

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E c

Earl

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Earl Strafforde*

Answers the objection.

If there had been good forecast in the business, by the King's ministers, it might have turned out better.

It was the general advice of the council \*.

*King.*

Let us think what is fit to be had; and then, how.

Matter of money only required; for other matters the King wants not.

He refers the information to the Lord Strafforde, and others, that know the state of the army.

Two hundred thousand pounds his Majesty thinks a fit sum.

Intended (as he conceives) to be reimbursed †.

*North ‡:*

Congratulates the King's presence. One word of four syllables, *Parliament*, like the dew of Heaven.

He thinks this meeting will be of length.

The commissioners of Scots, will not recede from their first demands, for religion, &c.

Two ways for money, forced or free.

Force not to be used.

Free, he knows none but benevolence. And supposes all men will admit it, in regard of the good and safety of the public.

A royal subsidy heretofore given.

He will give a royal subsidy.

*Earl Berkshire.*

Some proposition to be made.

Yorkshire, and shires adjacent, and London, to engage themselves with promises to be repayed.

\* These minutes are very incorrect, and here, as in several other places, we are at a loss for the precise meaning.

† i. e. to the lenders, when the Parliament met.

‡ Lord Northampton.

# STATE PAPERS;

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*King.*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Yorkshire not able to go much farther. They are ready with their trained bands.

*Earl of Strafforde.*

Yorkshire hath been at a vast charge; and so impoverished, that their men are licensed to go home, to be ready to return at an hour's warning.

They have need rather to be supplied; and that the Lords would contribute to them, as the wall between them and danger.

He offers to give an account of the state of the army.

He took the army as he found it, and so would give an account, and is not accountable for former actions.

A fortnight's victual in arrear to Yorkshire.

In pay, between nineteen and twenty thousand foot.

Twenty-two or twenty-three hundred horse, beside the Scottish reformed officers regiments, all in pay; which amounts to sixty thousand pounds by the month; and this will be requisite.

If this army dissolve and disband, the other army \* being as it is, in such a posture, this country is lost in two days, and the fire will at last go to the farthest house in the street. No history can mention so great an infamy, as the deserting this.

Two hundred thousand pounds as little as the army can subsist with, until the parliament supply; which is not speedily paid.

It hath been his advice not to put it to a day, or to fight; but to wear them out by time. Imputed to him to be for fighting †; by reason, he said, to put spirit in the retiring soldiers, that he would fight with them; and only for that reason ‡.

\* i. e. The Scottish.

† This contradicts the common accounts of history. Indeed common history is com-  
mon fame.

‡ These vaunting speeches given out to en-  
courage the soldiers have occasioned the mis-  
take about Lord Strafforde's opinion.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Earl Berks.*

A catalogue of the great townes in England, and the Lords to send under their hands, unto them.

*Earl Bristol †.*

He conceives the proposition for money, by way of benevolence, or racking the country, will not do.

The city of London must do it.

They will look for security.

By declaring a Parliament, the army strengthened to ten thousand men.

No want of money in London.

Good security offered; but hindered by disaffection. Nothing hath hindered the supplies from London, but disaffection to the courses taken; as that of the mint and black money.

The benefit of this Parliament, and assurance that the people's grievances shall be relieved; their affection will return.

The best course will be, to let the Londoners know, by the Lords, of real courses. If they may be secured, they will lend. Therefore the King's ministers to consider of it.

That nothing may forestall the Parliament, by the Lords.

*Lord Goring †.*

He differs only in one point, that if the Lords now go in a joint body to signify the King's real intents to the citizens, it will prevail.

*King.*

If not speedily done, it will not be effectual.

*Earl Berks.*

To add other towns to London, as Bristol, &c. by which they will be engaged; and that London shall see, it is not only they.

† No Peer had been worse used by King Charles than Lord Bristol, and none behaved better. He meant to ruin Laud and Strafforde, and then to support the crown.

† Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, afterwards Earl of Norwich. He had profitable jobs, and was a fine gentleman of that day.

*Earl*



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*Earl Bristol.*

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I.  
1640.

Some small addition from other cities; but all will follow London; and they must begin the precedent.

Some of the Lords to be sent to the Londoners, and by letter \*.

*Lord Keeper.*

A letter to the Londoners from the Lords, under all their hands. Three or four of the Lords to be sent with the letter.

Lords Committees to draw the letter.

Earl Strafforde,

Lord North,

Lord Keeper,

Lord Goring,

Lord Privy Seal,

My Lord Chief Justice,

Earl Bristol,

and Mr. Attorney.

Earl Hertford,

Mr. Secretary Vane.

Earl Bedford,

*Lord Maynard.*

† *I could not hear.*

*Lord Falconbridge.*

† *I could not hear.*

*Earl Bristol.*

Before the letter drawn, that the officers of the King may signify what security shall be given to the Londoners.

*Earl Monmouth.*

The Peers to give their security.

*Earl Berks.*

The letter, that the Lords will give their security, if the King's assignment be not ready.

*King*

Promises to repay the Lords.

\* This opinion was followed.

† i. e. The note-taker could not hear.

*Earl*

*Earl*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Earl Bristol.*

All the Lords will engage themselves. If this will not serve, let the King give what security he can, and in supplement the Lords will engage themselves.

*All the Lords*

Offer to engage themselves, every one freely, for the securing of the Londoners, by bond.

*Earl Bridgewater.*

He conceives my Lord of Bristol in the way to help for money; and not by him spoken at random. A Lord's security not of much force heretofore; but now, moving by a general soul, no man living, under such a Prince, will refuse.

The present getting the money, is the difficulty.

Not willing to look back: but our memory may warn us how to provide.

That no one Lord in this place, but is bound to help at this time.

He approves my Lord of Bristol's motion.

The main tie, that which must come from the Parliament.

To trie all security of the King and the Lords.

*Earl Essex.*

Desires expression \*.

*Earl Bridgewater*

Excuses himself, and is fully cleared.

*Lord Goring*

To write to the Lord Treasurer and other officers there, to comply with the Lords Commissioners at London.

*Lord Wharton.*

† I could not hear.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Carlisle and Berwick ‡, besides the charge of the army.

The sum, of necessity, to be mentioned in the letter.

\* Obscure; but it appears Lord Essex took something amiss.

† i. e. The note-taker.

‡ Expence of those garrisons.

*Earl*

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*Earl Bristol.*

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No less than two hundred thousand pounds.

If too great a sum, to be presently furnished, to agree for as much as they can, for the present, procure.

The rest of the cities not altogether to be set aside.

*Lord Goring.*

The city sick of keeping money, and therefore will lend.

---

*25th September, Afternoon.*

Present. His Majesty, &c. &c.

*The Lord Keeper*

Reads the draught of the letter to the Londoners.

Ordered to be engrossed by the Lord Keeper's servant.

The number of Lords to be sent with the letters to London, was agreed to be six.

*The King*

Desired to name them; who assigned these.

Lord Privy Seal,                      Viscount Camden,

Lord Chamberlain,                  Lord Coventry,

Earl of Clare,                        Lord Goring.

Agreed. A Committee to draw the instructions for these Lords that go to London, to be my Lord Keeper and Privy Seal.

His Majesty to write his letter to the officers of his revenue, to assist the Lords sent to London.

Ordered, that my Lord of Durham do instruct the Lords that go, in writing, with the state of the Bishopric.

A letter of the King to the city of London.

The Lords that are to go, are not to engage the Lords farther than by bond.

To be added in the instructions, that the Lords present do desire those that are absent, to join in the security.

*Archbishop*

*Earl*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Archbishop of York\**

Objecteth, What if the Londoners shall say, you shall have the money, when we shall have the security?

Commission of inquiry made by the Scots, of Bishops and papists rents, &c. read, by his Majesty's command.

*Bishop of Durham.*

Some man of authority to be sent by the King, to command the Scots to abstain from exacting the contributions during the treaty.

*Lord Grey.*

The like in effect for Northumberland.

Resolved, not to be done, until the King be in better posture †.

*Lord Maynard.*

A copy of Lesley's commission, and other petitions of like nature, to be sent by the Lords to London.

What seal the letter to London shall be sealed with?

Resolved, no seal at all ‡.

*Lord Keeper*

Reads the draughts of the instructions for the Lords that go to London.

1. Petitions of Durham, and others, to be carried to London by the Lords.

2. To acquaint them with the acts of this assembly of the Peers.

3. The security to be offered, is by bond.

4. All other Peers are to be desired to engage.

5. The officers of the King shall be required to assist the Lords.

6. They shall agree of the time of payment.

*Lord Strafforde.*

Fifty thousand pounds to be lent within a fortnight.

A hundred thousand pounds within a month after that.

And fifty thousand pounds within a fortnight after.

\* Dr. Richard Nolle.

† Because the Scots would not mind it.

‡ It should have been with the Signet, the council being convened by the King's authority.

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*Marquis of Hamilton.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

The Lords to require the Londoners payment to be fifty thousand pounds by the 12th of October next.

A hundred thousand pounds by the 15th of November.

And fifty thousand pounds by the 1st of December.

And for this, they are to require the assistance of the officers of the revenue.

*The 26th September, 1640. Morning.*

Present his Majesty, &c.

His Majesty commanded the letter to the Londoners to be read. Which was done.

All the Lords present called by the clerk, by the roll, to subscribe their names; which they did at the table where the clerk writes.

The superscription was,

To our very loving friend the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Citizens and commonalty of the city of London.

Instructions for the Lord Deputies to treat with London, read, and ordered to be subscribed thus; *Examinatur per me Johannem Borough, clericum magni concilii. York, the 25th of September, 1640.*

The Lords Deputies went to the King under the state, and there kissing his hands, took their leave.

Ordered, That the Lord Traquair, Lord Morton, and Lord Lanerick, shall go with the Lords appointed to treat with the Scots at Rippon.

*Concerning instructions for the Lords deputed to treat with the Scots.*  
*Lord Saville.*

The demands which they insist upon, and signed by my Lord Traquair and Lord Loudon, to be carried with the Lords Commissioners.

To have notice of what points they have broken since the pacification.

VOL. II.

F f

King.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

The original demand signed by the Lord Loudon, not now insisted upon.

*Lord Saville.*

That the Lord Traquair may answer, as he is a gentleman, what \* \* \*

*Lord Traquair.*

The Lord Loudon, upon his coming here said, that their demands were scandalized at the council table.

He discharged the trust, not only things passed between them and him.

He related *rem gestam*, as acts of Parliament.

What he related, was historically, leaving to the Scots to shew their reasons.

He was obliged as a rational man.

He gave in articles, by command, at the council table twice, all acknowledged by Lord Loudon.

He will acknowledge he hath wronged them, if they acknowledge not all he informed.

The first paper, was their demands.

The second, their acts, which be proper to be read by the Lords.

As where the Lord Loudon saith, that Lord Traquair did report, as commissioner to the King's best advantage; but, as a gentleman, would not avow all. He offereth, if he be there at the meeting, he will deliver all his knowledge as a faithful counsellor and just man.

*King.*

The originals of the papers are at London.  
But they shall have copies.

*Lord Traquair.*

He will sign the copy, and make it good.

*Lord*

*Lord Saville.*

Whether the Lords shall insist upon the pacification to be broken by the Scots?

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

It will be cleared in the instruction.

*Lord Traquair.*

To descend to particulars.

*Earl Berkshire.*

To know whether their acts have broken, &c.

*Earl Bristol.*

This day's work; to put it into heads, viz. 3.

In the first place, how my Lords are to be dispatched.

The King hath been pleased, that the great council hath nominated the Lords.

That the Lords may be accompanied by letters, as those that went to London.

A Committee for drawing letters.

*King*

Desires to be understood.

My Lord misunderstands that they have not been heard; and the King not fully satisfied of their unreasonable demands.

The Lords will advise nothing but honourable, just and safe.

They have been heard and heard again; but will not press it.

Only desires to be advised by them.

That the Lord Traquair do set down the state, and thereupon the Lords to judge.

*Bristol.*

He speaks of the Scots pretensions, They must be armed with arguments, and satisfied how it takes away their pretensions.

*King.*

No letter. Enough honour, that rebels are admitted to treat.

F f 2

*Bristol.*

*Lord*



CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Bristol.*

If without letter, they go as the King's commissioners, not as in the name of the whole house.

*Lord Saville.*

He desires to know if they shall have power to allow all the Scots can prove.

*Lord Berkshire.*

The Lords Commissioners can conclude nothing, but to report unto the Great Council.

*King.*

To go instructed why the King cannot grant such and such things; and upon their objections to report to the King.

*Earl Bristol.*

If to go upon the act of pacification, they \* must show this or this is in the pacification. The Lords must shew the contrary.

*King.*

We must have a rule.

Whether the pacification shall be the rule?

*Earl Berkshire.*

If the pacification not the rule, what shall?

*Lord Keeper.*

The pacification hath not been read, and therefore loth to make it a rule.

Not to resolve that to be the rule, until the Council know the Scots allegation. It will be a shew of prejudging before, if now set down as a rule.

*King.*

Differs, and thinks a rule fit.

The pacification to be it. Whether not dishonourable to go farther than the pacification?

\* The Scots.

If

If the pacification be held, it will alter divers laws and constitutions of Scotland.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

But if to go, to see what the King hath done.

*Earl of Holland.*

Reasons. They will urge oaths; the Lords to have information to answer.

*King.*

The King never swore to the pacification.

*Lord Traquair.*

The mistake is, they demanded assurance to the articles, which were signed by the King, but never sworn unto.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

He signed a covenant by order of the King, but never sworn unto.

*Lord Traquair.*

It will appear, that they will urge pamphlets, which will breed long debate.

Never any question concerning the articles of pacification between him and the Scots; but never any oath.

Matter in writing must be the proof, not what discourse happened.

He will stand upon nothing but what is under the clerk's hand, or their own.

*Lord Strafforde.*

The first time he heard of an oath.

What the ground shall be of this debate.

He conceives the King hath offered graciously.

He will make good the pacification.

That, the rule.

Nothing to be said, but what falls under the heads of that pacification.

They require an act of justification; the pacification mentions an act of oblivion.

They

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

They demand to alter the whole course of electing the Lords of the articles; which is a fundamental law of that kingdom \*.

All the Lords engage to maintain the King in his right of the Crown, as if they were the rights of the Crown of England.

The Privy Council advised, that if they would insist upon their demands, they should be reduced to obedience by force.

Whether go farther than the pacification?

The articles of pacification to be the rule.

Not to go farther than the pacification, while they are in arms.

*Earl Berks.*

They did not at Berwick, except against my Lord Marquis and Colonel Ruthven to be admitted into the castle of Edinburgh.

*Lord Saville.*

Agrees with Lord Strafforde in matter, but not in reasons.

If any thing shall be offered for the good of Scotland, though to alter an old law †.

*King.*

They are now in rebellion; but when they are reduced, then he will consider of matters of grace ‡.

*Lord Strafforde.*

He would not have the King exceed the pacification, while they are in arms.

He moves to chuse some other, in place of my Lord Clare, being sick.

Ordered, the other five may go without him.

*Earl Bristol.*

Whether the pacification to be the rule?

The Scots will make it the rule.

\* Altered in 1641, restored at the restoration, re-altered at the revolution. † But the King did not consider that rebels, on equal terms, may easier be induced than  
‡ Means (I presume) that it ought to be forced.  
done.

Ordered,

Ordered, the pacification to be the rule.

In the afternoon, to begin by the pacification, to see in what points they have broken it. And to see all their demands.

*Earl Hertford.*

If the pacification be as the text, and differed upon, who shall judge?

*King.*

The King, and the Lords here, to be Judges\*.

They demand that the garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle should be dismissed. Not within the articles.

They dare not say it is within the articles.

*Lord Marquis of Hamilton.*

To think what articles of instruction to give unto the Lords.

*King.*

Instructions to shew how the Scots demands go with the articles of pacification.

*In the afternoon.*

P R E S E N T.

The King.

Lord Keeper, Lord Marquis, Manchester, Shrewsbury, &c. &c.

*Earl of Bristol*

Befeecheth the King to preside as Moderator of this afternoon's work. Which the house humbly intreated.

The pacification read.

*Bishop of Durham.*

The party that breaks the covenant, dissolves the covenant.

*Earl Bristol.*

Since the pacification to be the rule, whether the Lords shall not press the Scots to make it their rule, and then to examine particulars?

\* To be sure as to England.

*King.*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*King.*

What, if they will not stand, because they say the King hath broken?

He desires that his freedom should not oblige him to his prejudice; he is content to - - -

*Secretary Vane.*

Resolved, He may speak as an assistant.

Necessary that the Scots do join in issue, that the pacification shall be the rule.

They have expressed to desire nothing more than the pacification.

They have violated the pacification.

They desire by their petition last come in, to come to a speedy conclusion.

That petition to be read; and that to be the first ground of the treaty; they have desired only to have access to be heard.

*Earl Bristol.*

He is confident they will not refuse the rule of the pacification.

1. Rational. 2. By their published papers, they insist upon the pacification. 3. Marquis of Hamilton informed they would admit the pacification to be the ground.

*King.*

Whether it will not be a dishonour to the nation, to yield that they refuse that pacification that they have yielded unto?

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

All the letters are, that they would yield to the pacification; and in his opinion, that they will still; but only his opinion\*.

*King.*

His Majesty is of another opinion. They will say, the King hath broken the pacification, and therefore they not now obliged.

\* The pacification was drawn in such general terms, that each party put different senses upon it. It was a hasty business.

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*Marquis of Hamilton.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

They forced to do what they did, since, the pacification being broken.

*King.*

If they shall say, the King broke first, and therefore not obliged now, what to answer?

*Lord Strafforde.*

They have first broken. First, to render all forts, and then to discharge their tables.

*King.*

Whether the Lords shall hold them to the pacification?

*Lord Strafforde.*

To lay aside all dispute about the pacification; but to know whether now they will stand to the pacification.

*Lord Bristol.*

All to be declined, that may cause dispute. No conclusion to be made upon the pacification; but upon all the matter.

Two ways. 1. If his Majesty were in case, it were best to bring them on their knees. 2. But now, considering their strength, Newcastle and the two provinces taken, we must now speak of the business, as to men that have gotten these advantages.

*King.*

The instructions will be very short.

1. The pacification to be the rule.

2. That the Lords have advised the King to stick to the pacification, and that the King conceives the laws desired \*, to be a breach, and the Lords to know the reasons.

*Lord Traquair.*

Whether the pacification the rule? He sees no rule but that, They have no ground to take away some laws, but the pacification.

\* Before the war, and after the pacification.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*King.*

Instructions the only question.

*Lord Saville.*

No question but that his Majesty is to stick to the pacification. But if they shall say they will not; What to answer?

*Lord Mandeville.*

The pacification the rule. If they propound any other matter, to report to the King.

*King.*

To hold them to the pacification. If they will be freed, then the Lords to advise the King to be free.

*Earl Strafforde.*

The Lords not to conclude, but to hear, and to report to the King and the Lords. To hear in the mean time, what can be said for the King, as well as what for them.

*Lord Mandeville.*

He conceived that the Lords should enforce the King's reasons, and to hear theirs, and to report.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

The Lords Commissioners to attend the King, to hear what can be said.

*King.*

Information to the Lords in general.

Instructions to be by the Lords agreed.

Agreed, The Lords that go this journey, with the King. Lord Keeper to draw up instructions.

They return from the Committee; who agree that the instructions shall come from the King.

MEMORANDUM.



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## MEMORANDUM.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

This Order is to be entered the 28th of September.

" IT was this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the Peers, that Mr. Attorney General shall prepare a bill ready for his Majesty's signature, containing a commission to Francis Earl of Bedford, William Earl of Hertford, Robert Earl of Essex, William Earl of Salisbury, Robert Earl of Warwick, Henry Earl of Holland, John Earl of Bristol, Thomas Earl of Berks, Philip Lord Wharton, William Lord Paget, Edward Lord Kimbolton, Robert Lord Brooke, John Lord Pawlet of Hinton St. George, Edward Lord Howard of Escrick, Thomas Lord Saville, and Francis Lord Dunsmore \*; giving unto them, or any ten or more of them, power to treat with Charles Earl of Dumfermlin, John Lord Loudon, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Sir Patrick Hepburne of Wauchtown, John Smith, Alexander Wedderburne, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnston, or any of them, deputed by his Majesty's subjects of Scotland, or nominated on their behalfs; and to take into consideration the demands of the said Scots; and to compose and conclude all differences arising thereupon, or otherwise, as they, or any ten or more of them, in their wisdoms shall think fit."

*Monday, 28th September, 1640.*

P R E S E N T.

The King's Majesty, &c. &c. &c.

Two letters read in answer to the Lord Lanerick's letter of treaty; the one of the 25th, the other of the 26th.

The copy of the safe-conduct required by the Scots read.

Debated whether the Peers shall subscribe.

\* Most of these Lords were then Patriots.

G g 2

Earl

CHARLES

I.

1610.

*Earl Bristol.*Ancient charters with this, *testibus*, of the nobles.*Bishop of Winchester.\**

Evident, that in Matthew Paris, divers names of the Lords are subscribed to charters.

*Earl Huntington.*

A deed of Ed. VI.'s time, in his keeping, where the King signed above, and the Lords under.

*King*

Will not expresse one way or other, but do this with the Lords advice.

*Lord Saville.*

It is a *dilemma*. Moves that the King will expresse himself.

*King*

Excuses himself. If he ask counsel, he will follow it; if command, he looks to be obeyed.

*Lord Keeper.*

That they may be commanded by the King to subscribe.

*King.*

If they advise him to command them, he will do it.

When a counsel is given by the most part, all the Lords are included.

*Earl Essex.*

They know not the state of the army, and therefore can give no advice.

*Mr. Secretary.*

Kings have complied in some cases, which they would not otherwise have done.

\* Dr. Walter Curle.

To pass over these *punctilios*, whereby the mask of the Scots will be discovered.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

He offers it, whether it be not best to subscribe it as is desired, and without any command from the King?

*Earl Bristol.*

The King may go single in his courts, as Starchamber; and there is no voting in councils where the King is present.

*King.*

This being new, he will not do it of himself, but by the advice of their Lordships.

The King is confident to do nothing without their counsel.

*Bishop of Durham.*

To put it to the question.

*House.*

All against it\*.

*King.*

No vote against it, therefore to pass.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Question, Whether the safe conduct shall be subscribed by the Lords?

His opinion, the King to subscribe it only. A presumption to set their hands.

*Earl of Monmouth*, and *Duke of Lenox*, dissent from subscribing, so *Earl Bridgewater*.

*Earl Bristol.*

The last year, the King's pass under the Secretary's hand. But upon their refusal to come, the King signed it.

He desires it to be *interlocutory* between my Lord Strafforde and him, to know of him, 1st, Whether the King shall break, if they

\* *i. e.* All against putting it to the question.

refuse?

To

CHARLES

I.

1640.

refuse? adly, Whether upon my Lord Strafforde's knowledge, and the rest of the officers, the army be in posture to oppose, if break? If so, then the Lords will agree.

King \*.

No man here to give another man satisfaction, nor to dispute the cause between man and man.

Distinguishes; the army sufficient, and not sufficient.

Whatsoever the Lords will counsel with an unanimous consent, he will do it.

To look to honour.

His army strong enough, if their Lords do-agree with him.

The King will refuse nothing that is reasonable.

But to fear to break, because they are stronger, he will not.

He allows free speech, and takes no exception; or if he did, he would openly and plainly do it.

Earl Strafforde.

He came at the end of the debate, and therefore might mistake.

The first time, if commanded, he would obey.

If the second time commanded, he would obey.

Great difference between the *testibus*, and to have names subscribed.

Answer my Lord of Bristol.

1. Whether in case the safe-conduct be refused, he would advise to break the treaty?

He will not advise positively to break a treaty; it is of too high a nature.

But not to agree to all they demand, but to stand upon honour and justice; and this to be the rule.

And he supposed they will accept that is so †, rather than the King to grant that is not so.

\* The King was in the right, but my Lord Strafforde answers the questions directly.

† i. e. Honourable, &c.

2. Much less to assure that the army is in case to drive them out of the kingdom.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

The events of war are doubtful, and not possible for to give assurance of the success.

He will give an account of the state of the army; and they to advise what is fit to be done.

He will give now an account.

He hath given an account of the army, to the Lords of the council before.

They might be then not in case to fight, but may now be.

They had not then the use of their arms.

If now they have, they are in case to fight.

Their soldiers as unfit for fight then as we, and therefore come upon equal terms.

We have more men, than they have at Newcastle and Durham; theirs, not above twenty thousand foot.

We nineteen thousand foot in pay, besides twelve thousand of the trained bands: who are——

Their horse, about eighteen hundred or two thousand, and a thousand dragoons. Their arms——

Our horse, two thousand three hundred or two thousand four hundred.

He will undertake that the King's army shall have the use of their arms, which is all can be expected of him; but will not give any assurance of success.

If money be not wanting, his Majesty may be in condition to give them the law.

We are not to agree to all they require, for fear of breach.

He can tell the state *in facto*; but their Lordships know best how to advise. He will give his opinion.

Earl

2. Much

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Earl Bristol.*

He explains all.

*Lord Saville.*

They did not require their hands; but out of doubt that their security cannot be good, without the subscription of the Peers.

They cannot advise that it is not secure without their subscription.

*King.*

He desires their advice, and will not do without them.

*Northampton.*

He offers, if his Majesty signing at the top, and they at the bottom, it takes away their presumption.

*King.*

Either that they do subscribe, or with *his testibus*; or the King to write a fair letter, that it is not the custom of England to subscribe.

*Earl Hertford.**Earl Bristol.**King.*

It is not for the honour of him or them, to advise any thing that may have a doubtful construction. Therefore plainly to do, what they do.

*Lord Keeper.*

He is of opinion *his testibus*.

*Lord Warwick.**King.*

Never any safe-conduct, but only by the King.

*Lord Mandeville.*

He thinks it may fairly be *his testibus*, if they subscribe by the King's command.

*Lord*

STATE PAPERS.

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CHARLES

I.  
1640.

*Lord Brooke.*

They will accept of it, with *his testibus*.  
The safe conduct commanded to be read.

*Earl Hertford.*

They may subscribe without exception ; for it is by their advice,  
and so they subscribe.

*Earl Berks.*

An advice never signed.

*Earl Hertford.*

We can give them no safe conduct of ourselves.

*King.*

The construction of subscribing to advice, and not to the safe  
conduct, will not be construed so in any place but here.

*Lord Pawlet.*

Never advise the King to command them to sign, being new.

But a letter under their hands to the Scots, signifying it is not  
the custom.

*Lord Wharton.*

Subscription only an addition.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

The Scots desire by their letter, his Majesty to sign the safe  
conduct.

The Lords to send a letter, shewing, that it is new to have  
them subscribe.

*Earl Berks.*

If they mean well, this letter will satisfy. If not, it will pull  
off the vizard.

*King.*

Mr. Secretary to draw a safe conduct, leaving out the clause of  
assurance ; and some Lords to be appointed to draw a civil letter to

VOL. II.

H h

shew,

Lord



CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

shew, that the Lords subscription is not usual in this kingdom to safe conducts.

Mr. Secretary hath the frame of safe conduct.

The Lord Keeper to make the letter of the lords.

*Lord Keeper.*

Reads the draught of the letter of the Lords to the Scots, that not agreeable to the custom of England, for subjects to subscribe.

The King only to sign it in the Peers' presence.

The letter engrossed and read : and agreed unto.

Mr. Attorney General reads the draught of the commission for the Lords to treat.

*Earl Bristol.*

To know what commission they have to treat, and what commission will satisfy his Majesty.

The draught of the instructions read.

*28th September, 1640. Afternoon.*

The letter from the Lords, concerning the safe-conduct, read, allowed and signed by the Lords. The Bishops omitted.

Sealed and delivered to Sir Peter Killegrew, to be carried to the Scots Lords.

I was commanded by the King, and the house ordered, that I should enter this order concerning that letter, &c.

Order, viz. The letter from the Lords of the great council to divers Earls, Lords and others, of Scotland, at Newcastle, about their safe conduct for coming, going, and staying at Rippon, during the treaty, being this day presented to his Majesty and the Lords, and by them approved, his Majesty commanded the Lords to sign the same.

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The instructions read.  
 Debate about the 4th article concerning incendiaries.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

To leave a latitude for the Lords to hear, and them to accuse;  
 but not for the King to invite them to accusation.

He desires they may have the latitude to accuse any, especially  
 himself.

*Lord Saville.*

They did not mean Marquis of Hamilton.

*Earl Traquair.*

The Scots will treat it of an incendiary upon him; but desires,  
 as the Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Loudon shall acknowledge  
 all that he hath averred.

*King.*

They accuse; who shall be judge?

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

The Scots desire that the offenders may be sent into Scotland, to  
 be punished there according to the laws.

The instructions read and agreed upon, and ordered to be en-  
 grossed.

Delivered to Mr. Secretary to be engrossed.

Heads to be demanded of the Scots, by the Lords.

1. Why they come into England?
2. Why exact contribution?
3. Why break their own agreement?

*Lord Conway.*

They demand straw and hay, above contribution, as being in an  
 enemy's country.

The order of Lesley himself.

*Lord Bristol.*

Some Lords to be appointed to draw heads of such things as the  
 Lords shall demand of them.

H b 2

Lord

The

CHARLES

I.

1640.

NEW OF OCTOBER. Lord Conway.

One Blair, an officer of theirs at Morpeth, coming to raise the contribution, and delayed, said, they would make Englishmen draw in carts, as they did at Hamburg.

King.

What the Lords shall ask of them. Not to speak of particular abuses; for that will be infinite.

If there were a competent judge, he would willingly submit the judgment, whether he had broken the pacification.

Lord Keeper.

Heads.

1. Their pretences for coming in, and why they have done such injuries.

King.

His Majesty proposeth, whether they shall propose suspension of arms to the Lords, as the Lords to them.

29th September, 1640. Forenoon.

PRESENT

The King's Majesty.

Lord Fauconbridge.

*I could not hear.*

Earl Berkshire.

To drive the cattle out of Durham and Northumberland here, for the King's provision.

King.

It cannot be done.

Bishop of Durham.

The corn rots on the ground. No money in the country. All the country like to starve the next year.

He

He hears, he should be said to have an inclination to war.

He is not for war.

His suffering for his sermon.

His prayers for peace.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*King.*

1. Whether a suspension of arms, and whether it shall be first moved by us or them?

2. What cessation of arms?

*Earl Bristol.*

Not honourable for the King to move; but to leave a latitude to the Lords commissioners, and they to take the best hints to move.

*King.*

Supplemental instructions are to be given to the Lords Commissioners, leaving power unto them, to move, or to accept of, any thing concerning suspension of arms, as they shall see cause, upon the place.

*Lord Conway.*

What cessation of arms is to be had?

It extends itself to not fighting, nor doing any act of hostility.

It will be well, if they can be brought not to spoil the country.

*King.*

To reduce them not to exact of the county.

*Lord Conway.*

They cannot advance with their army; and for parties, it will make our men.

Not to make forts on either side, will make for the King's part.

Whether the King shall give the Scots leave to bring in victuals out of Ireland, or Scotland?

*House.*

It will be fit. By this means they will be unmasked.

*Mr.*

CHARLES  
I.

1640.

*Mr. Treasurer.*

Cessation of arms is, not to do any act of hostility during the treaty against the army; but doth not debar the taking of contribution.

*Earl Bristol.*

ALL

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

Scotland cannot supply their army with victuals.

To have it by sea, is uncertainty,

The best, to move them to send away a great number of their men.

*Lord Brooke.*

If they remove their men, what security for the rest?

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

To think upon a way, to give them satisfaction.

*Earl Bristol.*

The Scots to bring what they can by sea. During the treaty, any of the English that will carry victual to sell them, may. But they have no money.

To debate the remaining, and lessening of the numbers, of their men.

No resolution concerning this, but upon the place.

*Bishop of Durham.*

They have provision for three months.

*Earl Bristol.*

They will spend nothing of their provision.

*King.*

The Lords, in their treaty concerning the suspension of arms, are to take the best care they can, for the relief of such counties as are under contribution.

One

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

One caution to the Lords Commissioners, that they lay grounds they may be sure the Scots can take no advantage of; for they are subtle people.

The Lords Commissioners, a great and honourable number; but the adversary, mean.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

The Scots are very well instructed, and well versed in their laws; the English Lords, not.

*King.*

When the Lords unanimously shall think this or that to be just and rational, the Scots dare not deny; and a Parliament will join.

*Lord Saville.*

If their pacification do draw an alteration of law as in Scotland, what they may agree? Say the King grants an assembly, what if they then will alter law?

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

Assemblies cannot alter Law.

*King.*

They confess that an assembly cannot alter a fundamental law; but other laws may be altered by agreement in Parliament.

Ordered, No copies of the instructions to be given, but to the Lords Commissioners.

*Mr. Secretary.*

The Lords that go, to think of a preamble; and to agree of a speaker among themselves.

They agree my Lord of Bristol shall speak the preamble, and be prolocutor.

*Afternoons.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

29th September. Afternoon.

Acts read that the King; excepts against and the Earl of Traquair explained every one as they were read \*.

*Earl Bristol.*

The first, for the Lords to demand to see their commission; and to report unto the King, and to proceed in the mean time.

*Earl Holland.*

Not to demand their commission, lest, treating upon it, the Lords may seem to allow it.

*Earl Bristol.*

To send up to the King their report of the business, with their advice.

*Earl Strafforde.*

The business like to draw out in length, by hearing, reporting, and the council to advise.

To discharge his duty concerning my Lord of Bristol's demands, whether the King's army can beat out the Scots.

He assures them, if supply come not, the King's army will disband, and this country lost.

In case the city of London should not lend money, it will be too late, unless some provision be made in the mean time. He presents it to the King and Lords in discharge of his duty, lest it be laid to his charge. Something more, than to rest upon London.

If this army disband, all this part of the kingdom is lost.

Whether the Lords will not think of some other means, if London should fail?

*Earl Bristol.*

The Lords for the most part living in the country, and ignorant of the King's estate, not able to propound ways of supplies besides

\* What a gross mistake has Lord Clarendon made, that no body was appointed to give information?

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Committee

\* The

† It is

‡ Sir J.

VOL. II.



London. But if any of his Majesty's officers and others will pro- pound means, they will debate it: CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

Lord Strafforde spake with no diffidence of the city of London; but fit to have more than one string to their bow.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Eight thousand men well armed, well disciplined, and well affected, ready to be commanded by the King, a train of artillery of sixty pieces, and all munition accordingly.

He thinks, for a second supply, if London fail, that every county where these men were prest, might supply two months pay for them, according to every parish; and the Deputy-lieutenants to treat with the people.

*King.*

Some of these men out of remote shires; how then can the supply come in from them in time?

*Lord Saville.*

He proposes the proposition may be thought of.

*King.*

Great reason; and added, if London should fail, to advise him what to do. They\* counselled him not to disband his army, and therefore they would design means how to keep it together, if London should fail†.

---

*York, Tuesday, 6th October, 1640. Afternoon.*

His Majesty present.

The Earls of Hertford, Bristol, and Holland, and the Lords Wharton and Saville, myself‡ attending them, came to town, as Committees from the Lords Commissioners at Rippon.

\* The Lords.

† It is remarkable how pertinent a share King Charles bore in all these debates.

‡ Sir J. Borough, who took the notes.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Letter of the Lord Privy Seal and other Lords sent, which they wrote to his Majesty, concerning their success in the city, read, by the King's command.

His Majesty commanded the Lords returned from Rippon to make their relation.

*Earl Bristol.*

The paper of safe-conduct and assistance 5th Oct. was read by me, and his Lordship declared the debate; so was the Scots answer thereto.

Also the Lords paper of proposition, concerning the maintenance of their army, and their answer 5th Oct. Also the paper of my Lord Bristol's demand, whether forty thousand pounds were positively by them to be stood upon, and the Scots answer thereto 5th Oct.

*Earl Hertford.*

Either we must drive them out, or a competency to be allowed for maintaining their army.

*Earl Northampton.*

He will allow them nothing; but if it must be paid †, he would have it paid to his Majesty.

*Lord Maynard.*

Only six Commissioners here, moves that the rest at Rippon may be sent for.

*Earl Holland.*

It would break up the treaty there.

No reason that the King should pay an invader's army. But the case is to be stated; they have a powerful army; fifty thousand, as they say. Two ways, either to remove them by force, or to maintain them, lest they spoil the country. This maintenance during the treaty, and is only by way of preparation to a treaty. To give them money would argue they have the better army. If able to

† The contribution.

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repel them, no maintenance to be given; but if they have the better, for preventing of spoiling the country, to come to some composition. He thinks it may stand with honour §.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

*King.*

None of the Lords will advise to give a penny, if they could remove them by force.

Nothing can be undertaken, as to warrant for us.

He will do nothing but with their Lordships advice.

He will lay the state of his army unto them.

Let him have, according to my Lord Northampton's proposition, and he will do his best.

If the adjacent counties will do any thing, as they offer.

Since money is to be given to him, or them, or both; if laying all to the King's army, there may be a stop given them.

*Earl Bristol.*

Whatsoever is given, is given to the King. This admits no debate; for it must be during the treaty or cessation.

If, upon a contingent hope of money, a certain treaty be put off, it is to be considered.

If there be not certain means to maintain war, it is not to be put to a contingency. Therefore the King's officers to consider of it.

*King\*.*

He desires to speak as Duke of York.

Heed to be taken to raise means with a shock of Parliament, as Earl Bristol says.

A shock † of Parliament to give invaders or rebels money.

Though we refuse their demands, yet a middle way to treat.

One thing he desires to be remembered. The city hath promised to lend two hundred thousand pounds; this will maintain the army three months.

§ Query, Whether Lord Holland was not in intelligence with the Scots?

\* This speech of the King's very obscure.

† It will shock Parliament to, &c.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

With this money he can raise greater forces. If he do, they must starve if kept there.

*Earl Bridgewater.*

Cessation of arms specially in charge. If a cessation, it seems, it must be bought out.

He desires to know what hostile acts have been done, since they came to Newcastle.

If this be a mean to shock the Parliament, it may be said, the King hath taken all this money he took up, for enemies. It may be.

*Lord Fauconbridge.*

If his Majesty do not keep them safe, they are all ruined.

The maintenance to keep them where they are. Ten thousand parishes in England, hamlets, and towns.

*Earl Huntingdon.*

Not to give money. If other counties will do as my Lord Mowbray, &c. the King's army may keep them where they are.

*Lord Cherbury* †.

He cannot subscribe to give any thing for a treaty. Never heard that a treaty was brought to recal disbanded forces. And to spend the money in maintaining of forces, the city || will take it ill their money is given to buy a treaty.

*King.*

Money to be raised necessarily, besides a parliamentary way.

If you raise money to pay these rebels, it must be besides Parliament.

Whether better to give rebels money, or to stop them?

*Earl Bristol.*

Their frugality will go farther in paying an army. Forty thou-

† Herbert, the historian of Henry VIII.

|| The city inclined to the Scotch on account of puritanism.

and pounds to be given them, and eighty thousand pounds to maintain an army against them.

As much more to be allowed for the King's army, as for theirs.

A large body of the Scots will be brought together by this money, when the treaty is done.

*Lord Keeper.*

Things to be considered.

The honour and safety of the kingdom. Rather would perish, than to give a penny, unless the kingdom be in danger.

Whether the King can make defence for the present, and that they do no more hurt.

If they would make reasonable proposition of their demands, then something to be given; but to give this for a little talk of uncertainty. It shall be done by Parliament, and not by him.

*King.*

What advice they will give him, if they will give them no money?

*Earl Northampton.*

Two questions.

1. Whether any thing shall be given them.
2. Whether they will treat without it.

*Lord Cherbury.*

Neither army to stand on foot, but a great part to be retrenched. If they will not treat upon these terms, it will draw off their mask.

To recal the dismissed forces.

*King.*

To clear the report that faith, the King should bid them stay there. It is cleared by the letter.

*Lord Wharton.*

The Lords took their demands, forty thousand pounds, in such indignation, that they would not give it an answer.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

To debate whether we shall give them any thing at all, or not.

*King.*

That the Lords will advise whether they will give any thing, or nothing.

*Earl Bristol.*

He conceives this not the point they are to speak unto.

If you give them nothing, they will wholly ruin the provinces of Durham and Northumberland. Whether you will leave them there, to ruin those provinces, if you give nothing?

*Lord Saville.*

They have eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; if this were proposed, he thinks this would satisfy.

If you take this contribution off, you must give retribution.

*King.*

This contribution they have taken against our wills, shall we now allow it them willingly?

Whether we shall give them a voluntary contribution, or that they take it against our wills?

*Earl Bristol.*

They have two great armies coming from Scotland.

*King.*

He proposeth the question again.

The question is, whether to give them any thing, or remove them by force.

To consider, whether those of Durham and Northumberland, having committed no fault, shall be only punished?

*Earl Strafforde.*

This demand hath opened our eyes. If his Majesty had been believed, we had not been in this case.

Nothing of religion moves in this business.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

They come in with a great army; which they had never done, if the city of London had done this they have done, six months ago. It was designed that an army should have been upon the borders in July. They fortify Newcastle, therefore mean to stay; at Tinmouth, at Morpeth, they possess themselves of coal. They now reinforce their army with three or four thousand men from Scotland; the Earl of Argyle follows with so many more.

They cannot be removed this winter with an army of sixty thousand men.

They have advanced a thousand men into Durham. He that now speaks not, may be accounted an enemy.

For their demand is, either contribution or forty thousand pounds a month.

It is plain that my Lords Commissioners have expressed as much care and judgment in their treaty, as may be.

To deliver any opinion, he joins with my *Lord Keeper* and *Bristol*, to defer it until to-morrow.

The hints of councils to be taken from the affections of the people in England; if that be right.

The Londoners example hath much turned his opinion. No council ‡ to go up to the Scots now in this season; but to make good as much as we have.

He hath applied himself more to some of the army than now he shall, in respect of want of money; but having money he means to take a shorter course for their discipline.

If the soldiers be rightly persuaded \* of the cause, he doubts not of our success.

For the two counties †, it is not possible to relieve them, unless by paying forty thousand pounds.

‡ Not advisable.

\* That points at the disaffection of the army.

† Northumberland and the Bishopric of Durham.



CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

If forty thousand pounds a month had been lately demanded, for maintaining of the King's army, would any man have advised it to be done without a Parliament? And how then, this to the Scots?

No further danger likely, but to Westmorland and Cumberland.

Cumberland will raise an army, every fifth man to be maintained by four others.

Yet the Scots may move there with a part of their army.

It is out of their way to relieve their distressed brethren.

This, so mighty a business, both to the King, kingdom and ourselves, would be maturely thought upon.

Concurs for deferring the debate until to-morrow.

Ordered, To be debated to-morrow, whether any thing shall be given.

---

York, Wednesday, the 7th October. Forenoon.

His Majesty present.

A printed pamphlet, *Of the lawfulness of the Scots expedition into England*, read.

*Earl Bristol.*

This, a printed declaration, and therefore they will insist upon it, according to their letter to the *Earl of Lanerick*.

*Lord Keeper.*

That the fourth clause may be read again, wherein are most railing and barbarous words against the English nation.

To the work of the day.

1. To debate the answer of their demands.
2. To remove the treaty here at York.

*King.*

Whether to debate the answer to their demands, before the Lords at Rippon be here?

For

For removing the treaty to York; he inclines to draw it hither.

CHARLES

*Earl Bristol.*

I.  
1640.

To send a post to advertise the Lords at Rippon.

*King.*

The Scots, if they come hither, are to be required to bring power to treat and conclude, which now they have not.

*Earl Bristol.*

A dispatch to the Lords there\*, to tell the Lords that the King commands them to come hither, and to tell the Scots Commissioners that they shall do well to send for power to treat.

*King.*

To inform the Lords there, that the treaty is likely to be drawn in length; therefore to tell the Scots plainly, that the King will have the treaty removed hither, and therefore command them to send for commission to treat here.

*Lord Saville.*

To intimate to the Lords of Scotland, his Majesty's resolution of removing the treaty.

Earl of Bristol and others of the Lords to draw a letter to the Lords at Rippon, as may appear, beginning Our very good Lords, &c.

The letter read and engrossed.

*Earl Bristol*

Makes repetition of words spoken the day before, concerning the supply of the city. And is cleared by the Lords to have spoken nothing but what he repeated.

*King.*

If any Lord speak any thing in the house, to which exception is to be taken; it is presently to be done, or else not afterward to be reported.

\* At Rippon.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*York, Friday, the 9th October, 1640. Afternoon.*The Scottish paper read, beginning, *Nothing is, &c.**King.*

They will have an answer to these preparatory demands, that they will not proceed without them.

Whether they will advise now, or stay 'till the rest of the Lords that are absent at Rippon?

If now, to enter into debate.

*Lord Keeper.*

Whether we shall now debate it in absence of the Lords?

*King*

Desires the Lords opinions, whether he shall send to the Lords at Rippon, to hasten hither.

Desires the Earl of Bedford and Viscount Mandeville to speak.

*Earl Bedford.*

If he send to the Lords there, to signify to the Lords Commissioners of Scotland, that for the more mature debate and concluding of business, they are commanded to return to York, willing them to do the like.

*Earl Huntingdon.*

To send for the Lords at Rippon, but to let the Scots, being rebels, to know, that the Lords will not give them a penny.

*King.*

As soon as the transferring of the treaty from Rippon hither, be resolved, to come away.

*Earl Northampton.*

If they will not condescend to come, to let them go to Newcastle, to know the minds of their commanders.

*King.*

That the Lords hath called his Commissioners hither, to consult of an answer to their preparatories, and they to go to Newcastle.

Some

Some of the Lords to go, and to draw a letter to the Lords at Rippon.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Not to do the King that dishonour, to let the world know that the King will do any thing they will.

Not to draw all the Lords from thence, and to leave the Scots there alone ; but to let them treat, to know what they will require.

*King.*

To give them an answer ; but whether they will do it without the Lords absent, or not.

*Earl Strafforde.*

To answer, that the Lords have no power to grant any such demand, without Parliament.

*Earl Bristol.*

If the King will not give their army maintenance, to consider whether they have not means in their hands to get themselves maintenance, and may get two provinces more.

*King.*

The question, whether they will give an answer before the Lords at Rippon return.

*Earl Strafforde.*

If you send for all away, the Scots will quarrel, which he will not give advice to do ; but to grant them any dishonourable terms, he will first die.

*Lord Keeper.*

To send a letter to-night to the Lords, to come to-morrow, and they return on Monday again to Rippon.

*King.*

If you send for the Lords, and tell them they shall have an answer at a certain day, they will thank you for it.

A letter to be written.

K k 2

*Earl*

CHARELS

I.

1640.

*Earl Bridgwater.*

All the Lords of opinion (as he conceiveth) to keep on the treaty.

*Marquis of Hamilton*

Desires to know, to what end the letter intended, is to be written.

*King.*

Not to dissolve the treaty by calling the Lords hither, but to let them know the necessity of their presence.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

It will give a great delay; the Scots will not be induced to stay, without the Lords.

Therefore to propound something to satisfy them.

An answer to be given to as many of their demands, as the King and Lords shall think fit.

The rest to be advised upon, and therefore they to be sent back to Newcastle.

*King.*

Not resolved what to say to their demands, but must take time to consider.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Admit the Lords leave them; and they go away; whether it will shew well?

*Earl Bristol.*

To see if the Lords there can induce the Scots to stay for an answer until Monday; and to leave some Lords there.

*Earl Strafforde.*

To consider the time of Parliament; it will raise jealousy, if it should not be held.

A time must be to settle the army here, if it do not disband.

A competent sum, being uncertain, worse than to demand in certain.

*King.*

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*King.*

CHARLES

I.

1640.

To advise whether they shall have their army maintained by our wills and advice, and then to reduce the sum to as low as may be. The Scots will say, If you will give us nothing, you must not take it ill that we take our own course.

*Earl Bristol.*

The business, how the Lords may come hither, and not to break the treaty.

The Lord Keeper, Earl Bedford, Earl Hertford, Bristol, and Viscount Mandeville, appointed to write the letters.

These Lords read the letter, beginning, &c.

---

*York, Sunday, the 11th October, 1640. Afternoon.*

P R E S E N T,

The King's Majesty, &c.

The letter from the Lords Commissioners, beginning *Upon the receipt*, &c. Dated at Rippon, the 10th of October, and

The Lords proposition at Rippon, given to the Scottish Commissioners there, beginning *His Majesty hath*, &c. read.

*King*

Requires the Lords advice.

*Lord Cherbury.*

Seeing a silence, he desires to speak.

No money coming from London, to be given.

If by any other means, he will not be averse.

And continues his opinion given the other day.

*Lord Maynard.*

No answer to the main point of the Lords letter, that the Lords Commissioners at Rippon should come hither to advise.

*King.*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

Though fit, yet not necessary, for they will concur with my Lords here.

*Earl Hertford.*

They stay, because the Scots will take it ill, if they should go away. Enough Lords here to debate.

*King.*

Inconveniencies of both sides; as it may be dishonourable to give; so to consider how to save the spoil.

*Earl Bristol.*

The state of the question now, whether it will be better to leave the Scots to their own way, or to treat of an accommodation, and that—

*King.*

Whether the army be maintained, a question.

*Earl Bristol.*

They have a great army, which is to be removed by force, or intreaty.

They will not stir: and a necessity that their army must be maintained.

*King.*

No necessity to lay that as a ground.

The question may be otherwise put, whether we shall suffer them to do what they will, or to hinder them, either by force or otherwise?

*Earl Bristol.*

The question, whether they shall be left to their own ways, or way of accommodation?

A sad consultation.

He prays that the rest of the absent Lords may be present.

If he must give advice, he desires to look over his notes, to—

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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

A kind of necessity for the Lords to give their advice, without those at Rippon.

First, it will delay time.

Next, it will break the treaty.

*Earl Northampton.*

He thinks it rather to break, than the Lords to be absent.

To send our opinions to the Lords at Rippon, and they to send their advice.

*Earl Bristol.*

The Commissioners here, to go to Rippon to the Lords there.

*King.*

If they go, the Lords there will incline to peace, if they find the Lords here inclined thereunto. But if the Lords here give their advice to let the Scots take their course, some of the Lords there will be of that opinion.

He moves, Whether to send for most of the Lords at Rippon?

*Earl Bristol.*

The Scots are impatient to delay.

This business may be debated here.

*King.*

Let it be debated, and leave the positive resolution till the Lords come.

*Earl Strafforde\**

Desirous the rest of the Lords should be here, to debate in a matter of so great consequence, the universal peace of the kingdom, the honour and dignity of the Crown.

It were better the Lords were here. The only danger is the breach of the treaty. And would rather yield to punctilios than break the treaty.

\* He differs with the King about the Lords coming.

If

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

If the Lords be sent for now, they may be here to-morrow, to debate the matter to-morrow in the afternoon. The Scots may have an answer on Tuesday morning. And if they will not allow the King one day for a resolution, their haste is very great.

To signify to the Scots, that they will stay until Tuesday morning; and to send some young Lords to them there.

*King.*

Whether it shall be at Rippon?

*Earl Hertford.*

They will be content to stay at Rippon for one day.

The whole Council agrees that the treaty shall continue at Rippon.

*Earl Bristol.*

Two or three Lords to continue there with the Scots at Rippon, and the rest to come hither to debate.

A letter to be written from York, to this effect, That the King is content to have the treaty continue at Rippon, and that, for the better expediting of the answer, the rest of the Lords may come hither.

*Lord Cherbury.*

He is of opinion, for the King to get time; and the progress will be made impossible.

To send and see what fortifications are made upon the river of Tees.

To send to see the fords, whether passable at this time of the year.

*King.*

To speak this to-morrow in full Council, being very pertinent; viz. to know what security we shall have, that our going will hinder the plundering of the counties. He is ill used on both sides. The Scots owe him no good will. Others here regret that he hath no care of his people of Northumberland, &c. but that they may be plundered.

*Lord*

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Vol. I

# STATE PAPERS.

257

*Lord Keeper.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

It will not be long ere the people will be rightly informed of his Majesty's care and good affections \*.

Earl of Bristol came and read the letter to the Lords Commissioners at Rippon, which was engrossed, beginning, *We have received, &c.*

Signed by

HERTFORD.

BRISTOL.

WHARTON.

York,  
11th October 1640.

*To the Right Hon. our very good Lords, the Lords Commissioners remaining at Rippon. Sent by Mr. Dias to the post, to be sent away speedily. Delivered at four o'clock in the afternoon.*

*York, Monday, 12th October, 1640. Afternoon.*

P R E S E N T,

The King's Majesty, &c.

The remonstrance preparative read, of 10th of October.

The paper of remonstrance to the Commissioners read, which was delivered me by the Lord Mandeville this day; beginning, *If the King's Majesty, &c.*

Sir William Witherington called in, and made a relation as sent with the King's letter of safe-conduct. He demanded the like safe-conduct for our men as the King had granted to theirs.

They say the safe-conduct now sent was not so large as the Secretary promised.

Desired to know whether he might send the King's packet to Berwick.

They take it into consideration; and, at last, are content to let it pass, for that particular; but for others hereafter, they would farther deliberate.

\* i. e. by the calling a Parliament.

VOL. II.

L 1

King

Lord

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*King*

Desires the Lords to enter in debate of the business for the day.

*Earl Northampton*

Takes the paper, and desires that every man, upon the paper, may give his opinion clearly. For him, he neither can nor dare answer to the Parliament, if he gave the Scots assistance.

*Lord Cherbury.*

The Scots having passed two rivers, the Tyne and the Tweed: now to send to view the fortifications upon the river of Tees, and so to put himself in a way of defence.

None of the two hundred thousand pounds gotten from London to be given to the Scots.

Yet considering their necessity to be supplied, or go on, to supply them with victuals from the adjacent shires, seeing they promise to pay, or give security.

That his Majesty would be pleased to take into serious consideration what to answer them.

Some things they ask as of right, something by way of grace. He would have matters of grace.

*King.*

They demand these things of necessity, as the treaty cannot go on without it.

Whether a way may not be found to determine altogether?

None of the Lords will advise to give any of the money lent by the city to the Scots.

The King doth the city right, in clearing them of hardness of lending; for they did not desire his jewels to be pawned, but only the security of the Lords there.

*Earl Strafforde.*

The river of Tees so fordable betwixt Croft-bridge, and no way to keep them from passing the Tees, but with an army.

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The King  
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their policy,

State of the question, whether the King shall give his consent to give forty thousand pounds or a competency, before there be any treaty ?

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Earl Bristol.*

State of the question, whether it should be maintained by such means as the Scots should find out, or whether forty thousand pounds, or a competency, shall be allowed them by way of accommodation ? Then to think how the accommodation may be made.

*Archbishop of York.*

What obligation the Scots have upon the King to make their demand ?

*Earl Bristol.*

Their army of necessity must be maintained by their force, or by accommodation.

*Earl Monmouth.*

He asked Sir Thomas Riddle, whether Northumberland and Newcastle, would furnish the Scots ?

*Bishop of Durham.*

We are now in treaty. This a door and a bar to all treaty.

*Earl Bridgwater.*

He finds the business strange, and unless the paper may be unriddled, he cannot tell what to say.

This paper, and Sir William Witherington's relation, makes him doubtful.

If a good pacification, he will desire it as much as any.

If he could see their real intentions, he would go as fast towards them as any.

The King hath given answer to former petitions.

They have now gotten strength.

Of opinion that their army should be maintained ; but desires to know, if they take advantage by their strength ; he commends their policy, but not their loyalty.

CHARLES

J.  
1640.

The main question, whether to give or no?  
If resolve to give, more questions will arise, what, and how to give?

If they have told the Lords Commissioners what they will have, it will open our eyes. But when, he thinks will be a great question, and of the how, likewise. The when will be dangerous previous to a Parliament.

How, it will be asked hither, *contra* or *præter*.

*Lord Saville.*

The Scots Commissioners do say they have stayed so long, as they are able to subsist no longer.

They desire to know, whether they shall use their power, or be accommodated?

*Earl Bristol.*

Whether they to use their power, or whether by treaty, accommodation some way may be found?

Inconveniencies to be considered of, either of these, and on both sides.

If you leave them to their own way,

1. They may plunder Northumberland and Durham; and at least here, as much in their power to take.

2. Cumberland and Westmorland, Carlisle and Berwick run a hazard.

It is impossible to defend those parts.

They will come on hither into Yorkshire after.

The King hath a hundred to one at the stake.

If the King receive a blow, this province of York will be lost; and much more hazarded.

The counties of Northumberland, &c. will come to accommodation, if abandoned, and much disheartened.

Therefore, whether the inconveniencies on the other side be greater? and desires some of the Lords to argue that part.

*Earl Strafforde.*

CHARLES

I.

1640.

He did say, that nothing can hinder them from coming to this city, but fighting, for they — But this city, with the King's army, may make good the city.

*Lord Maynard.*

He states the question. He reads it thus.

Whether this great and honourable body shall advise to allow the Scots any maintenance, being in arms and rebels?

The giving them any thing, a hard morsel to digest by any Englishman.

And knows not how to advise to give, without assent of Parliament.

It will be as hard for Northumberland and Durham, when they have given, as now.

The example dangerous, for rebels to move for getting of money to be still.

It will make them the more stubborn in the treaty itself.

The dangers of bringing the southern trained bands to Newcastle, until the kingdom be better settled.

His opinion is, that not by our advice to give, but of his Majesty's goodness, to give some to the Scots, until the day after the Parliament.

It may come from the provinces already possessed.

*Earl Dover.*

To go shortly to the business.

*Earl Monmouth.*

First, Whether to give or not.

*King.*

Whether we shall find a mean to relieve the counties oppressed, or to leave them to their fortune?

*Earl Hertford.*

To bring all in one, but how we can.

*King.*



CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

If the way be safe and honourable, let us do it; if not, let us not do it.

*Lord Cherbury.*

That armies may be disbanded on both sides; then a small competency may serve.

This to be moved to the Scots first.

*King.*

My Lord of Bristol, put well the inconveniencies on one side. What we shall give them.

Their army is said to be thirty thousand men, though not half so many.

We give only to ease the people in bondage. What security, if we give, they shall not be so still?

Now live from hand to mouth; if we give, they may live three or four months; and——

Their last papers are more insolent than the first.

Not to give out of London money.

How can you lay an imposition upon the counties? He would be loth to do it for himself.

Desires some to propose the ways, and then to consider the inconveniencies.

*Lord Wharton.*

They will not get advantage by time.

Their army increaseth, and you know not what to give.

*King.*

He shews another inconveniency.

If we break the least of the agreement, cause of a quarrel.

*Lord Wharton.*

1. If we give till the Parliament take a course, we shall gain by time.

2. It

2. It will be convenient for the oppressed counties to free them from present plundering.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*King.*

Nothing to be done without a Parliament, for uniting the affections of the people.

To send the rebels word, that they would do nothing but with a Parliament.

Whether you would have this treaty to be put to an end before a Parliament?

*Lord Saville.*

If the King give them all they require, they desire something which must be ended by Parliament.

*King.*

They desire delays, being well.

But what is fit for us to do? Whether to break the treaty until the Parliament?

*Lord Mandeville.*

It is not for the honour and safety of the King to make an accommodation.

*Earl Bristol.*

To go back to the business of the day.

Whether to think of an accommodation?

Next, what that shall be?

They will willingly stay here still.

It is no buying a treaty, to give them maintenance during their treaty.

He propounds, if there be a desire to an accommodation, not to pitch upon this or that particular, but to leave it to the Lords Commissioners to see the ways to an accommodation. That the opening of trade, markets, &c. may be proposed, to help it on.

*Lord Keeper.*

1. Question, whether fit and honourable to have an accommodation, or not?

2. Inconveniencies.

2. It

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

2. Inconveniencies mentioned by my Lord Bristol, of losing the counties, &c.

3. What good shall be gotten by giving, but only to come to a treaty?

4. If they agree of an accommodation, they are to secure Northumberland and Durham from spoil.

The people of England will see their intention, if they plunder Northumberland, &c.

Whether this treaty shall not receive accomplishment before Parliament?

His opinion is, it ought. His reason,

If there be an accomplishment, it will be a fair way made to the Parliament to judge of the state of the business.

He will never advise the Lords to impose upon the country. If by a voluntary contribution, it must be done by the counties that groan under the burthen.

Not to advise to break the two hundred thousand pounds of London.

To propose these things to the counties.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Hardly an end to-night, if it be drawn out in length.

He makes a protestation of the faith of a Gentleman, that he hath heard something since he came into this house, which makes him speak.

He will not admit of the necessity of maintaining them.

They may well maintain themselves, without contribution, or plundering the country; if they are so good as their books make them.

They may have provisions from their own country, and lessen their army. Trade and ports will be opened.

Therefore no necessity; and they are obliged by their declaration to maintain themselves.

Other

Other argument;

By this means Northumberland, &c. will be saved from plundering.

Answer. As soon as this treaty ends, they will be in the first estate; and this only frees them for a time.

You furnish them with money and necessaries. You give them countenance that what they do, they well do.

He desires, if to give, to give for once for all; and to see the bottom of the business; nothing more necessary than to have this known.

This is sure, after they have gotten this contribution, the counties of Northumberland, &c. will be in as ill state as they now are in, after the treaty.

They say the King shall gain by the delay of the treaty.

He is altogether of another opinion; for it hinders us to know the bottom of the business.

Nothing more safe, than for the people of England to unite in heart and affection, which they cannot do unless they see the bottom of the business. Another disadvantage by delay. The vast charge of the army here. They will require more for theirs in the conclusion.

The king loses in honour abroad.

Besides, if you make no end of the treaty, will you treat this business at London, which will continue the charge of the country?

Whatsoever they have to say, let them say it in a Parliament, and all they can against him.

Therefore, their necessity no ground. The contribution no end. We know not, what they will in the end have.

It doth not preserve Northumberland, &c.

Nothing so dangerous to your person and kingdom as to give.

They cannot march with the gross of their army hither, this winter. Many inconveniencies.

VOL. II.

M m

Examples

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Examples must be considered to be of like danger.

It is dishonourable in itself for the King to buy a cessation of arms from his subjects; though it may be done for avoiding greater inconveniencies.

The subjects of England now taking themselves to serve the King with affection, he sees no reason but we may make good our own.

If you resolve to give it, he sees no possibility how to pay it, or raise it.

He knows no ways; the two hundred thousand pounds being not to be touched.

He will deliver no opinion positively. Yet he is not convinced hitherto, to persuade him to give.

*Lord Cherbury.*

He will be sorry to have delay of time misconstrued.

*Lord Mandeville.*

He conceives my Lord Strafforde to be mistaken in the necessity, whether true or pretended. They pretend to be delayed. To consider whether to give or not.

More for the honour and safety of the King to come to an accommodation.

*Earl Strafforde.*

A great difference betwixt a pretended and real necessity. He thinks theirs pretended.

He wished he had had my Lords acquiescence to devise means for maintenance of his Majesty's army.

*King.*

Whether the Lords will let them go on their own way of length in the treaty?

Proposes to give a particular answer to every one of their demands; and to give them an answer to this, and both together.

*Lord Saville.*

They desire not the King to find out the way how to raise it; but whether the King will leave them to plunder what they can;

can; for they esteem the four counties worth 200,000*l.* which is in their power.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

The Lords may easily save all, if they will set their hearts and hands to it.

*Lord Wharton.*

Nothing can be more gainful to his Majesty, than gaining the affection of his people in Parliament.

*King.*

To hasten this business, because of the Parliament.

To settle the business, and then go to the grievances.

*Earl Bristol.*

To state the question fully to-morrow morning at eight, and then to debate it, without diversion to other business.

---

*Tuesday, 13th October. Forenoon.*

PRESENT, the King's Majesty, &c.

*Earl of Berkshire.*

The Scots Commissioners require their composition to begin from the first day of the treaty. So they explained it to him.

*King.*

To take it by the way of admission, though not resolved, that their army is to be relieved; but to be done with honour, safety and commodity.

*Lord Mandeville*

Offers that the counties now under their power, may be spoken withal, to see what they will do.

*Earl Hertford*

Agrees to that motion, and to see what the adjacent shires will do.

*Earl Berkshire.*

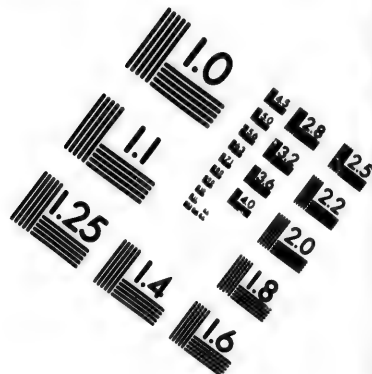
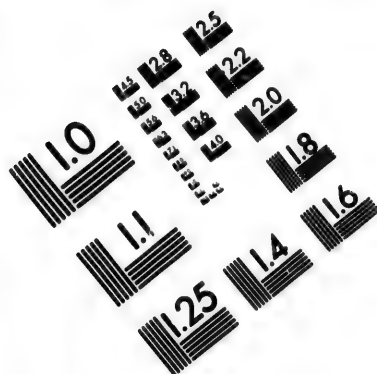
He concurs. Let the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle be victualled from Scotland, and it will be a great encouragement.

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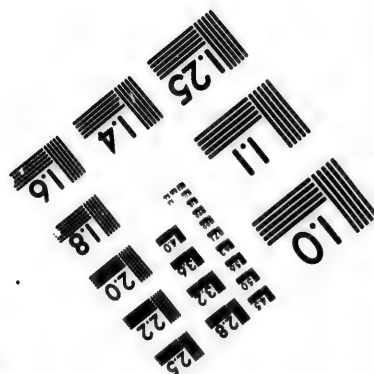
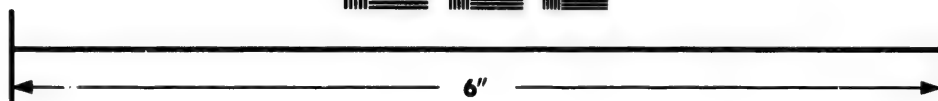
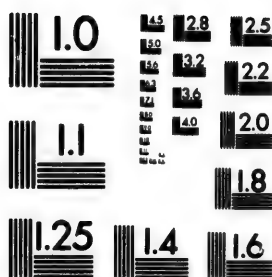
*Bishop*







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CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Bishop of Durham.*

Those of the Bishopric are divided among themselves, some for war, and some for peace.

1. How honourable for the King to grant?
2. Competency, what?
3. How this competency shall be had?
4. How the countries shall be easy and secured, when they have given?

To the first, they propose the contribution to be for the maintenance of their army.

To give a competency, not against honour.

To lessen their army.

To have provisions from Scotland.

To have it of the money of London.

London looks only to have it repaid at the day.

The Parliament will allow of what the Lords do.

This giving will be thought to be but a reprieve of the oppressed inhabitants; proceeds but from one mouth, and that speaking rashly. If they plunder after, worse than Turks.

*Earl Berkshire.*

If the four shires do agree to give, and they afterwards plunder, the whole kingdom will rise and oppose.

*King.*

The rebels ask what the King and Lords will give? And then, for the shires to give it, they will think it no answer. To think of a fitting answer, and then to resolve it.

*Earl Dover.*

They have declared that we should find out the means; and if we think it fit, the shires adjacent should do it, it is sufficient.

*Earl Hertford.*

They do not desire it of the King and Peers.

*King*

They are  
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of Scotland

Excuses  
He hopes  
to read his

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If your Lord  
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# STATE PAPERS.

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CHARLES

I.

1640.

*King.*

They are cunning; and though this be right, yet they will find  
*eschapatoires.*

*Earl Berkshire.*

They forced to furnish the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, out  
of Scotland.

*Lord Cherbury*

Excuses his late coming.

He hopes to find a means to answer the Scots Lords. He desires  
to read his paper.

*Lord Keeper.*

It is not allowed in Parliament and Great Council to read their  
own papers: It is Parliament, and therefore locutory; and so con-  
cluded and resolved by the house, that no man should read his pro-  
position out of paper.

*King.*

My Lord Monmouth hath moved that this will require a time to  
conclude with the shires, and how this shall be found possible.

As we send to the shires to treat with them, so they to go on  
with the treaty. For Westmoreland and Cumberland, is a new pro-  
position to them.

If we leave the Scots to treat with the country, will they go on  
with the treaty?

*Lord Saville.*

They will treat though you deny them a competency, and enter  
a protestation.

*King.*

If your Lordships will declare them to be enemies, if they will  
not treat until they have a competency, and being left to treat with  
the counties, I care not what they will do.

*Earl Bristol.*

They will treat though you give them denial. But then they  
will take their own courses; which, considerable how dangerous.

*Lord*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.*Lord Clifford.*

No man will undertake for Cumberland and Westmoreland, until the gentry be present; and that will require time.

*Earl Strafforde.*

*He reads the last paper.* It seems by the papers that they will not treat, unless a competency be settled.

*Earl Berks/hire.*

If we offer them reason, and they will not accept, to break off the treaty and come away.

*King*

Desires them to take a resolution.

To consider if there be any other way.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Some other ways have been propounded; therefore to take them into consideration.

*Earl Berks/hire.*

To furnish the garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick.

*Lord Brooke.*

To open the ports, and ways from Scotland.

*King.*

To open the ports is of more consequence than appears at first, for rivetting them fast in Newcastle; but to open the ways from Scotland, he allows.

*Lord Cberbury.*

The lessening of their army; the allowing of them certain pin-naces to bring provisions from Scotland, and no other to pass.

*Lord Brooke\*.*

Of lessening their army, they will not yield unto it; for so they have expressed themselves.

*Earl Brisfol.*

He dislikes the security of a foreign great army in the kingdom.

\* This Lord a thorough opposer, and in correspondence with the Scots.

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*Mr. Treasurer.*

CHARLES

I.

1640.

He would be loth to see so great an army left in England, as might make an invasion.

Without a competency, the papers say, they cannot treat.

Resolve, if it be possible, not to break the treaty.

If the power of treating of a competency be allowed to the Commissioners, it will turn upon the Scots to break or go on.

The way propounded, to have it from the four near shires, Northumberland, &c. Next opening the ports and passages. To lessen their army.

To consider, by the Commissioners upon the place, by treaty with the gentlemen of those counties.

In all cases of dishonour, a less and a more.

It is not the King's case only, but all Kings of Christendom, to fall into these straits; and have thought it no dishonour to give great sums of money; as in France, at Montpelier, &c.

Time only must give a good issue to his Majesty's affairs.

If carried to the Parliament, it will unmask them.

*Lord Keeper.*

The maintenance of their army they stand upon, but will treat though it be not granted.

All propositions lead to the same end.

The way of a commutation, they, to furnish Berwick and Carlisle, and we them, honourable and safe. Opening of the ports very considerable; but as propounded, with a few ships, it will neither be unsafe or incommode.

To treat with the four shires will require time, but not so much as is feared. If the Lords Commissioners make the counties know, that the Lords will present it to the Parliament, that they have been the bulwarks. And as for Yorkshire, he doubts not but this declaration of the Lords will quicken them. And to have power to treat with the shires further, and to leave it in trust with the Lords, to conclude the sum.

If

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

If the Scots take it, they to tell them they will take order to levy speedily; but then to think fit to propose to go on with the treaty, if they will not let them chuse.

*King.*

To put a stop and limits that they shall go no farther. In case they should not treat of any thing, until this competency be agreed, what will you do?

*Earl Strafforde.*

If this be the only thing to be propounded, he will offer his opinion.

Nothing else as yet thought on.

Never any King came more clearly to a Council.

He protests that the King never declared his opinion to \* \* \*

So say all the Lords.

And all thank the King for so great a trust.

He will not willingly break the treaty.

He desires the accommodation may go with as much honour.

It is fitter to be done by the King's servants than himself.

He would not advise to draw in Westmoreland and Cumberland, if it may be done without it, for all England is equally engaged.

He advises that the two counties of Northumberland, and Durham, and Newcastle, continue the contribution, upon promise to represent it to the parliament.

They have no reason but to comply to their own contribution of 700l. a day; which will amount to 20,000l. a month.

It will be no long time.

The difficulty, how to raise the money.

The counties not able to continue it, or to live under it.

No great difficulty if this contribution be continued, for maintaining their army.

It is the counties of Northumberland and Carlisle's own act, and so cannot complain of the Lords.

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VOL. I



If this cannot be done,  
He will not persuade to break the treaty, but then to take the  
courses propounded.

It comes to 850l. with 200l. of Newcastle.

They say Newcastle is 4000l. behind.

*Mr. Treasurer.*

They made a composition of 350l. a day in the Bishopric, but  
they are behind, and not able to pay it. So Newcastle. So for  
Northumberland, who are all behind-hand in payment. If they  
cannot pay it, to leave a latitude to the Lords to call in the other  
counties.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Cumberland and Westmoreland will afford very little help.

*Lord Fauconbridge.*

The composition to be taken rather in provision than in money.

*Earl Strafforde.*

If they pay in their composition in provision, they are able.

*King.*

This left to the power of the Commissioners,

But what if the Scots will not accept of this, or go on in the  
treaty till all things be settled? To think of what to say.

*Lord Cherbury.*

First, to reduce their army to a less number.

If this be not condescended to, then to draw the King's army to-  
wards Durham, and fortify.

*Earl Bristol.*

To resolve to send a letter to the Lords at Rippon, to let them  
know, that this day they are in a way to give them a competency,  
and to-morrow the Lords shall return.

*King.*

To resolve what to do, and not to delay. For they will not go on  
in the treaty without.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Earl Berkshire.*

To send the Lords word, and to-morrow the Lords will be there with positive resolution to conclude.

*King.*

What if they will not treat unless their composition be settled? This to be debated. It may be debated, but cannot come to a resolution; for something upon the place may alter the case.

It is fit to arm ourselves with as many arguments and reasons as we can.

Question to be debated,

Whether, in case they will not enter into a treaty, before their composition be settled and secured, what shall be the answer?

*Archbishop of York.*

If they shall say that Northumberland and Berwick are so poor, as they are not able to pay, and they will not trust to it; what to say?

*Earl Strafforde.*

Speaking of 40,000l. it was said yesterday, that Northumberland and Berwick were worth twelve times as much.

*Earl Bristol.*

The parties, if they see the danger, will discover more than yet is known of their estates. The treaty with the gentlemen, to be left to the discretion of the gentlemen.

*Lord Gray.*

More money in Newcastle than in these two counties. The adjacent shires will assist, upon promise of repayment.

*Lord Keeper.*

The matter left to the Commissioners of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

*Earl Bristol.*

Presuppose the delays to be effectual delay, and so judged by the Commissioners; whether they shall break the treaty?

Though they do delay, yet the Lords to agree not to break the treaty; but to declare their opinion unto them.

*King.*

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to grant it.

*King.*

If they refuse that which is reasonable; what the Lords will advise?

*Earl Strafforde.*

The Lords will positively conclude or refuse nothing, but that first, they will advertise his Majesty; and therefore wholly to be left to their discretion.

Whether you include the arrear in the treaty; which they will stand upon?

He will not at any hand advise not to hold the day of the Parliament.

*Earl Hertford.*

They expect the contribution from the time of the treaty.

*Earl Berks.*

They expect all arrears since the *composition made*; and they said so in express words.

*Earl Bristol.*

They will require the arrear:

*King.*

Do your Lordships expect that they will come to treat without settling the composition?

*Earl Bristol.*

He conceives they will be as willing to treat as we, if they find the composition in a forwardness.

*Lord Saville.*

The counties will demand how long the contribution shall last, and when it shall end.

They look for assurance of amity from the whole kingdom; and till then, the composition is likely to last.

*Lord Keeper.*

If they shall expect it so long, it is the un safest thing in the world to grant it.

N n 2

But

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

But so long, till the treaty holds.

*Earl Hertford.*

They may have Newcastle and Durham to them, with a garrison, until all things be settled.

*Lord Paget.*

They say they will not stir, until they have an assurance from Parliament, of their demands.

*Lord Keeper.*

To begin from the beginning of the treaty, being about ten days ago. It is three weeks to the Parliament; the debate in Parliament will require a month; which work two months.

*Earl Bristol.*

Left to the commissioners to speak of them.

*King.*

They take resolutions upon us, by presupposition, and stand to it. Why we should not do the like; and tell them that we will go on to find the composition; and that they, in the mean time, to go on with the treaty.

The Earl of Bristol to make a letter to the Lords at Rippon, to let them know, that the Lords shall be with them to-morrow, with answer and positive resolution and full powers.

---

13th October, 1640. Afternoon.

His Majesty present, &c.

The suitors of the Bishopric and counties, to attend the Lords Commissioners at Rippon, concerning their grievances, to-morrow in the afternoon.

*King.*

This afternoon appointed for drawing instructions to the Lords Commissioners. He conceives the instructions to be in general.

*Lord*

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*Lord Keeper.*

It is conceived the instructions not to be in writing, but to be left unto discretion.

*Earl Hertford.*

He thinks it fit to have their instructions in writing; but in general, as hath been formerly; and the Commissioners to have a latitude.

*Earl Berks.*

The King secure, for they will report.

*King.*

He desires that they would do as much as may be, without giving an account.

*Earl Berks.*

He is confident before Monday, to give a particular account of all; and that there will be a conclusion.

*King*

Expects an end before the Parliament, or their advice what to do.

*Lord Keeper.*

Heads of instructions.

1. Left to my Lords, of relieving the counties under contribution, and subject to plundering, by some competent allowance.

2. For the better accommodation, Berwick and Carlisle to be victualled out of Scotland, as we victual their army.

3. The opening of the passages between Newcastle and Scotland, by land.

4. That some pinnaces, more or less, according to the discretion of the Commissioners, may be allowed to pass with victuals, only for their supply.

It will be fit to put the Scots in mind of the detriment the King suffers in his custom for coals.

*King.*

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*King.*

Whether any ships before Newcastle?

*Mr. Treasurer.*

Two pinnaces and a ship upon the coast, and about the mouth of Humber.

Forty thousand pounds a year went out of Newcastle to the King for coals. The Commissioners to take consideration of the coal.

The Pinnaces to take order that the coals may be carried to no places but in this kingdom.

That some Lords may be appointed to draw instructions.

*Earl Bristol.*

If the King give absolute power; the Lords trusted will have care to conclude nothing; but will report.

No instructions in writing; but only the heads and remembrances for the Lords; and the rest to be referred to the discretion of the Lords.

Lord Keeper, Lord Hertford, Lord Bristol, Mr. Secretary, are appointed Committees to draw remembrances for instructing of the Commissioners.

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Vane, shall accompany the Commissioners to Rippon.

Three papers read, viz. *Grievances. Letter of my Lord of Manchester*, of the success of their treaty in London, read, dated the 11th of October.

*King.*

Many of my Lords have made suit to go to London.

Their reasons, law-suits.

To consider means for their indemnity.

Ordered. Resolved, all shall stay.

*Lord Keeper.*

He will write to the Judges, for any Lord, to surcease prosecution against them.

Remembrances

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Remembrances afore said, read, and ordered to be engrossed the 13th of October, beginning *Remembrances for my Lords the Commissioners.*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*York, 17th of October. Saturday Afternoon.*

His Majesty present, &c.

The four papers delivered on both sides at Rippon, the 16th of October, read.

*Earl Bristol.*

That the Lord Lieutenant, or some other, in absence of the Lords going to Parliament, may take care of the securing the eight hundred and fifty pounds *per diem*.

*King.*

If they look for absolute security, it will be impossible.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He desires to be excused, and that he may not meddle with their security.

He is declared to be their common enemy.

My Lord Saville and Lord Wharton, acquainted with all the treaty, therefore they fit to do it.

*Earl Bristol.*

He did not name my Lord Lieutenant to put any trouble upon him. But being Lord President of the North, to take it into his care.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He takes nothing amiss of my Lord of Bristol; but to meddle or oversee it, he is not so fit as those that have been acquainted with it.

*Earl Bristol.*

Any Lords may be appointed; so the business is done.

*King.*

The Lords to name certain gentlemen at Rippon.

*Earl*



CHARLES

I.

1640.

*Earl Strafforde.*

While he is Lieutenant-General of the army, he will never be drawn to be an instrument of giving contribution to them.

*King.*

The thing may be well done otherwise.

*Earl Bristol.*

The Scots say their army is in great necessity. If they trust to this, and they fail, necessity will inforce them to do what they would not; therefore, if promised, it must be performed.

*Lord Cherbury.*

None better to undertake this, but such as live in the country, and by commission.

*Earl Bristol.*

Not fit, that this be done by commission.

They seem to be very willing for the first month.

*King.*

To desire the Lords Commissioners to do it at Rippon.

Some of Cumberland and Westmoreland willing to come into contribution, as he heareth.

*Bishop of Durham.*

The country holds it a burthen intolerable, unless Cumberland and Westmoreland do come in.

*Earl Bristol.*

That the Bishop of Durham, Lord Grey, and other, of these counties, that remain at York, do take care.

*Lord Mandeville.*

They \* will not enter into the treaty, but security being given:

*Earl Bristol.*

A letter to be drawn for encouragement of counties to come in.

The counties under contribution to be recommended to the Parliament.

\* The Scots.

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VOL. II.

*Earl Holland.*

CHARLES

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1640.

They will rather lend two hundred pounds, than lose a thousand pounds.

*Bishop of Durham.*

He desires assistance of some Lords.

*Earl Bristol*

Names Lord Grey, Lord Clifford, Lord Mowbray.

*Earl Holland.*

They will join with the great men of that country, Lord Grey, Earl Newcastle.

*King.*

The city having condescended to two hundred thousand pounds, do now go slowly on.

That they would write a second letter to the city, to go on with their contribution.

*Earl Strafforde.*

All his care is, for the maintenance of the King's army.

All the army out of pay. Twenty thousand pounds come in, that's all.

A fortnight's pay due to those that took up victuals, for which he gave credit.

The rest of the fifty thousand pounds lent, not to come in until the 30th of this month.

As much reason the King's army should be maintained as theirs.

A letter from London, mentioning, that upon the lending of the city, the King's countenance changed from following or hearkening to the Lords' counsel.

He desires they will think how the King's army may be provided for, now they have settled the business for the Scots.

*King.*

He hath heard these reports several ways, and refers himself to the Lords, whether true.

VOL. II.

O o

He

*Earl*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

He desires two Lords may be sent to the city.

*Earl Bristol*

Moves, my Lord Keeper, and another, to be sent.

*King.*

The Lord Keeper is his particular servant, and not so fit to be sent.

Resolved, The letter shall be drawn to-morrow, and then, all the Lords, both here, and at Rippon, to sign it.

Some to be nominated to draw it,

Lord Keeper nominated.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He desires to know what will give content to the Scots subjects.

The Lords at Rippon to bring the Scots to their full demands; and to perfection.

*Earl Bristol.*

Things are to go on by degrees; until this maintenance agreed, they would not treat.

*Lord Mandeville.*

They desire to have it under our hands.

*Earl Bristol.*

If we give them the words of so honourable persons, they will not stick for one day or two; but this must be really meant.

They protest to be forward for peace.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He desires again that provision be made for the King's army.

#### MEMORANDUM:

My Lord Bristol hath the original additional instructions of the King, dated the 15th of October.

York,

A letter to  
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STATE PAPERS.

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York, Sunday, 18th October, 1640. Afternoon.

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

His Majesty present.

Earl Bristol.

A letter to be drawn to the gentlemen of the counties to encourage them to enter into security.

Some Lords here to be joined to advise with the gentlemen of the counties, for giving security.

The gentlemen of the counties doubt not but to find some Lords to treat with the gentlemen: viz. Lord Keeper, Lord Clare, Bishop of Durham, Lord Grey, Lord Mowbray, Lord Clifford, to settle the security.

Earl Hertford.

The gentlemen to be presently conferred withal.

They were sent for. But in the mean time, the Lord Keeper reads the letter drawn to the city, from the Peers, beginning, *After our hearty commendations, &c.*

Earl Strafforde.

It is not the lending of 200,000l. will serve the turn, unless it come in time. Therefore, this to be expressed in the letter, that they may do it in time. If they pay not their money more timely, it will be to no purpose.

If they pay not the 50,000l. and after, the rest, as was propounded, it is to no purpose.

Earl Bristol.

He hath heard from London, the Commissioners, as most for the Scots army.

The Scots say, they are in such necessity, that, if not supplied, they must plunder this, and other counties. We have consideration of the English, not of the Scots army, as the case stands.

Earl Strafforde.

So long as he hath the command of the army, and not two days provision for them, he must represent it.

The Councils will be justified, and the Counsellors.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

He hath served faithfully, and will justify himself.

*Earl Bristol.*

He never spake any thing against the Lord Strafforde; he is an able man.

A great army in Ireland, }  
A great army at sea. } Nothing done.

The matter of fact is, that Northumberland, &c. are used as they list, as if they were not of the cloth.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He that judges by the event doth not judge *super totam materiam*; the armies of Ireland and at sea, have miscarried, not by fault of the Ministers.

*King.*

To hasten the money from London; which is the main business of the day.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

To mention in the letters, the days required for payment.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He will bring 8000 foot, 2000 horse, at two days warning, and sixty cannon, if there be shipping to convey them\*.

*Earl Bristol.*

He lays no imputation. Lord Strafforde has given a good account of his government.

*Marquis of Hamilton.*

He had no meddling with the men spoken of, by sea, until they were delivered to him on shipboard.

The gentlemen of the counties came in to confer about the security.

*Earl Bristol.*

The King and Peers are desirous to give you all ease†.

The Scots pretending necessity two ways,

\* This must be from Ireland.

† This was addressed to the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham.

1. Either to take all they can ;
2. Or to come to a competency, which they formerly agreed upon, 850l. per diem.

It was your desire to have it done by way of accommodation.

You shewed hopes to be able to secure the payment.

If you shall do it, the King and Lords will recommend it to the Parliament to give them ease.

They have for this, better security than formerly from the Scots.

That for punctual performance of things promised, the King will provide some Lords may confer with you.

That they will declare their abilities, and the best ways to help them.

*Sir William Bellasis.*

They are doubtful of their abilities to perform, in the condition they are in.

They desired letters into the county to understand their ability.

They will attend the Lords, and give them the best satisfaction.

*Earl Strafforde.*

To speak plainly, whether they are able to pay the contribution for two months ?

*Sir William Bellasis.*

He doubts they are not able.

They did offer to give security for their own particular, but not for the whole sum, or for the general.

*Earl Bristol.*

Shire from shire to be divided in this payment.

Berwick, though they could not undertake it for two months, yet, for one month, they were confident for their own county. They offered bonds and any other security.

*Sir William Bellasis.*

They presented a paper, to desire that every man might be bound for himself.

*Sir*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Sir John Maclay.*

An impossibility of their paying their proportion; for they are not now able to pay that which is past.

*Sir Lionel Madefom.*

They desire their estates to be rated, and they will go as far as they can.

*Earl Bristol.*

When it was in debate, they said, it would be twenty times the prejudice to them to be plundered, than to pay the contribution.

There is 10,000l. worth of coals in Newcastle. This is to be considered.

*King.*

Confessed, if it were time to put them off.

*Sir John Maclay.*

He offers, for his part, to let his coals be sold, he having the one half.

*Earl Strafforde.*

10,000l. worth of coals at Newcastle, it will appear to be the goods of such as are under contribution in Berwick and Northumberland; and therefore not to take them.

*Earl Bristol.*

To resume the matter; they never thought the Bishopric and Northumberland were able to find this, but the house thought fit to call in Cumberland, Westmoreland, yea Lancashire; what they cannot do, to be supplied by the next shires, or to leave off the treaty.

*Northumberland man.*

They are content to give particular security, but cannot give security general.

*Earl Holland.*

Why it should not be enlarged?

*King.*

Lord Keeper, Bishop of Durham, Lord Clifford, Lord Grey, Lord



Clare, Lord Mowbray, Lord Fauconbridge, Lord Strange, or as many as shall be present.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

The gentlemen of the counties retire.

*Lord Keeper*

Reads the letter as it was amended.

*King*

Moves one thing, that the Lords should write a letter to the Lords there\*, to express the days of payment, to enter into security, concerning the pressing of the day of payment.

*Earl Strafforde.*

It is said in the letter, it is a hopeful treaty; it is against yourselves; for why should they then hasten their money?

No hope, in the world, of accommodation, as he conceived, for the security will hardly pass.

*Lord Keeper.*

He put that clause in of purpose. If we say this treaty hath no hope, it would not get a penny.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He differs wholly from him.

*Earl Bristol.*

In the debate formerly, a hazard conceived not of the Bishopric and Northumberland, but of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Berwick and Carlisle; and that there was no stay for them, without giving them battle; but that they would come into Yorkshire. Whether we shall put the hazard of the treaty upon it?

*Earl Strafforde.*

Not all remembered. He thinks Berwick and Carlisle safe. He d<sup>d</sup> not to a batt†.

He said it was impossible for them to come up to York, with the gross of their army.

\* To the city,

† A material gap.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

For contribution, he never thought that Yorkshire should be brought in, having been at 50 or 60,000*l.* charges. He prays to remember that if Cumberland and Westmoreland, the whole kingdom should contribute, and rather having been at the great charge.

He moved that every parish might find their men, and it was found not fitting; and why now hearken to a contribution to the Scots?

For this Winter, he conceives Yorkshire to be in no danger.

The Scots may go home, they are not necessitated, and therefore no necessity to put the country to contribution.

*King,*

No constraint to be used; but voluntarily; but to bring in Lancashire and Cheshire, they have no colour.

*Earl Bristol.*

He conceives business best to be carried by commission.

The imminency of the danger, makes the near shires more liable.

Upon the whole matter, if my Lord have 18,000 foot effectually, and 2200 horse, he goes with my Lord Strafforde; he would not advise to give contribution.

He leaves it to my Lord Strafforde to advise whether the King can oppose the Scots, and break.

*King.*

No absolute command to the counties.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Earl Bristol puts hard conditions upon him.

He conceives the King's army not able to encounter the grofs of their army; but against small parties they are able. But he would not answer the success\*.

He acknowledges the King's favour for his trust and counsels.

He desires with all his heart, that the command of the army were transferred to other.

\* This is as a hard confession, not very consistent with what he threw out in other places.

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STATE PAPERS.

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For other commands he hath dealt faithfully.

He advises that the good of the King and people are so woven together, as one cannot stand without the other.

CHARLES

I.

1640.

*King.*

To be understood of his greatness in the army.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He desires to return to the business.

The question.

So much pitched upon, and must be granted, or the treaty break.

*De modo* is now to be debated.

If we speak absolutely of honour and justice, the treaty can stand with neither. But respectively it may.

Whether we will break the treaty, or go on by securing the contribution?

*King.*

There can be no possibility of securing the contribution. No leave to draw in Yorkshire.

Call and persuade Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire and Cheshire; but to command, you cannot.

*Earl Holland.*

Whosoever cannot defend themselves, will be content to come into contribution.

*Earl Bristol.*

Though more honourable to let this go by this 850*l. per diem*, than to offer them a sum.

*King.*

The contribution resolved formerly, to be the only way to satisfy the Scots.

To persuade, if they could, Westmoreland and Cumberland.

*Earl Bristol*

Desires to have in writing, what they shall do when they come back to Rippon.

VOL. II.

P p

Loth :

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

Loth to come back, and say he could not conclude with them, having the Great Seal.

Their conclusion, to be brought to articles, and the King to set his hand unto it in the final conclusion.

They have brought the treaty to some conclusion by agreeing upon a competency.

To resolve whether this shall be made good.

*King.*

To answer the Scots;

We have taken it into consideration; and that some Lords are appointed to take care of it; and we doubt not but it will take effect.

*Earl Bristol.*

To answer the Scots.

The gentlemen promise for a month. For the other, a committee of Lords appointed to take care of it.

Desires the resolution of this house to be conceived in writing.

A draught of the answer that the Commissioners are to give to the Commissioners of Scotland, touching the security for the competency, beginning,

*The answer that the Lords Commissioners, &c.*

---

*York, Tuesday, the 28th October. Afternoon.*

The Lords came to York from Rippon, and I attended them, at one in the afternoon; and about two met in the presence.

*Earl Bristol*

Desires the papers to be read, and signed by all the Peers present.

They are read.

*King*

Demandeth, whether both papers are so conjoined, that both must be necessarily signed?

*Earl Bristol.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

It is requisite that what they have done by the authority of all, should by all be confirmed; and that the Scots will do the like.

They have instructions to do what they have done.

*King.*

He conceived that the competency was to be done by connivance.

*Earl Bristol.*

It is a treaty of the greatest disadvantage that hath happened since the conquest.

The treaty of E. II. questioned by E. III., and divers that made it lost their heads. They did what they did, by his Majesty's warrant, and the Great Council, and under the Great Council. If it be according to their warrants, to be pleased clearly to avow it. That my Lords would avow their advices, being all done by their advice.

*King.*

They have power to raise a competency, but how he should join in signing it. His Majesty desires the first paper to be read.

Whether if they sign, they are engaged?

*Earl Bristol, &c.*

They are,

1. That a competency was agreed upon by all.
2. That if the counties under contribution were not able, other adjacent counties to be brought.
3. They have called in some others, according to their instruction.

He did desire his Majesty that a committee might be settled here, for their discharge.

They must have wherewith to subsist, or else they will take it by force.

*King.*

Many things they have taken as the sense of the house, which were particular.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

It was generally resolved by the Lords, that none should be enforced to contribute.

*Holland.*

It is not forcing, but to keep them to their words which they have made.

*Wharton.*

The article clears it that it be not enforced.

*Earl Bristol.*

It must be paid.

His Majesty was content the Parliament should be moved to have consideration.

The army there must either have a competency, or they will fall a plundering.

*King.*

He loves to keep his word, and therefore would know how he shall see this performed.

*Wharton.*

The gentlemen had no hope of repayment; but now they hope to be recommended to Parliament, and likely to be paid; and willingly offer their utmost endeavours.

*King.*

Let us answer for no more than can be done.

*Super totam materiam*, he desires to be advised by the Peers.

The Lords Commissioners desire to withdraw, to set down their reasons.

*Earl Bristol.*

As his Majesty's servants and subjects, they have treated to the best advantage.

They do unanimously advise his Majesty to confirm the treaty.

They have drawn a declaration of their reasons for giving that advice, and desire that it may be read.

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*The Viscount Mandeville.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

Reads the paper beginning—

*When first we came down to York, &c.*

After the reading,

*The Earl Strafforde.*

He will not offer to deliver his opinion ;

Because he learns, that for opinion delivered by his Majesty's servants, they are accountable.

But hearing his name called upon \*, he is enforced to answer. And sheweth how he came in the command of the army, and how he proceeded.

Objection 1. Concerning the retiring from Newcastle.

Objection 2. The gentlemen of the counties coming unto him, he left them to themselves.

Sir William Bellasis came to him indeed ; and he told him that he did not see how they could help them ; but referred him to his Majesty, and willed him to go to Mr. Treasurer.

Objection 3. He declared want of money.

It is true he did, and represented it with all earnestness and faithfulness.

Objection 4. That he should say all the county of York would be plundered.

He never said it, nor never thought it ;

For he always told the King, that the Scots could not come in, with the gross of their army.

Tees was defensible against parties, but not against the gross.

Objection 5. That we were not in a posture to fight.

It is true. Not that there was any want in the persons of the men ; but not exercised. But that he said, what was not to-day, might be to-morrow.

Objection 6. For fighting, it was a way he did decline.

\* That must have been in one of the papers.

He



CHARLES

I.

1640.

He had never advised to fight; but that his Majesty should lie upon the border, as being better able to maintain an army.

He never declined any thing of danger wherein his Majesty or the Lords would have used his service.

Objection 7. Concerning Westmoreland and Cumberland, that they were lost.

He said, he saw not if the Scots should come up into them, how they could be saved; but never said they were lost.

He said he would never give his consent, that new counties should be brought into contribution.

*Earl Bristol.*

He desires there may be no mistake.

The paper doth not trench upon my Lord Strafforde, but only to shew the matter of fact, upon which they grounded their advice.

For my Lord was desired to declare the state of the army.

It is far from them to cast any aspersion upon my Lord.

It is of great necessity for clearing of their judgments, to let the world know the inducements.

If there be any thing that is hard, they will alter it.

For the business;

They desire, and give their advice, that his Majesty do go on to confirm the articles of competency and cessation, being the best, as the state of things now standeth.

A great care in the drawing the declaration, that it shall not reflect upon any man.

*Earl Strafforde.*

If for advices given to Kings, the parties must be accountable; it is a most miserable case to be a counsellor.

*King*

Desires to know whether the Commissioners would have the King and Lords sign it, or he only?

*Earl*

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# STATE PAPERS.

295

*Earl Bristol.*

CHARLES

I.  
1640.

If the King sign it, with the advice of the Peers, it will be honourable.

*King*

Would have the Lords that were not at Rippon, to speak.

*Earl Bristol.*

If any will speak to it may, otherwise it may be as an assent.

*Lord Cherbury.*

He will subscribe as having an opinion of the wisdom of the Commissioners.

To refer it till all the body of the Peers meet.

To put it otherwise to the vote.

*Earl Bristol.*

Not to be voted here; it is a council and no court. The election is the King's.

The time is short, and this being resolved, other great matters to be proposed.

Safe-conduct required to be under the Great Seal.

Opening of the ports, and freedom of trade, and post-ways free.

Every one involved, having given their advice to a treaty, and to instructions; therefore, if any thing be done contrary to their instruction, they are accountable; otherwise all the Peers are involved.

*Earl Strafforde.*

The Parliament at hand.

The treaty concluded by the Commissioners; and therefore no time to consult long.

It were very hard, they having proceeded as they have, it were hard to single out the Commissioners.

Though he confesseth that something is in this treaty, which, but submitting to their judgments, he would not have agreed with. But now to go on to agree and concur.

*Earl*

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Earl Bristol.*

They crave not the excuse of any man. Any man that says he doth not assent, doth say they have transgressed against their instructions.

*King.*

It may be said they had power to make a cessation; yet some particular may not be thought fitting.

*Marquis of Hamilton\*.*

He resolved not to have spoken, but being commanded to give his opinion, as being one of those that were not at Rippon. All the articles according to their instructions. He is satisfied that there is no command that the contribution shall be given to the Scots; for, by the paper, saith, if it be not paid, it shall not be a breach.

That his Majesty shall approve of their proceeding by advice of the Peers.

*King.*

Time is very precious.

He saith the Lords have not exceeded their instructions or commission.

His ratifying of this, to be understood, not to be an enforcing of any man to pay the contribution.

*Earl Bristol.*

No kind of coercion in the whole paper; for no officer of his Majesty employed, or commanded to raise it. The Gentlemen of the counties have entreated that it might be in the Scottish to constrain.

*King.*

His Majesty declared to avow what the Commissioners have done, and will sign a paper.

The Scots have been clearly dealt with all, and better than they deserve.

\* He had a mind to distinguish himself from Lord Strafforde, as making fair weather with his countrymen.

*Earl*

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VOL. II.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Earl Bristol.*

That the Lord Lieutenant would take notice of the articles, that there be no error.

That his Lordship will take care that any of the Gentlemen will come unto him to advise and further the business.

*King.*

For the competency, he held the Lord Lieutenant no fit man to deal in. But for the cessation, fitting he should take order.

Concerning Stockton, whether he shall retire any forces sent thither?

*Earl Bristol.*

Though the Scots did insist, yet at last they did admit it, that the forces may be sent thither, but that they may be moderated.

*King.*

He is drawing his army into inter garrison. And that the place most commodious for so many, viz. three hundred.

*Holland.*

It is left to his Majesty.

*Earl Strafforde.*

Whether he may hinder the Scots from plundering Cumberland and Westmoreland? If they shall offer it to the people. It is a breach of the treaty.

If they buy any horses in Yorkshire, whether they shall be denied, and stayed? They shall.

It was his Majesty's pleasure, upon his motion, that the two regiments of Stockton and Richmond, should be contributed unto; and in case any should deny, other regiments to be sent to relieve.

Your Majesty did approve of it, and gave order that he should take order in it. He gave warrants to that purpose. The warrants called for by the Commissioners, and took copies. He desires, if there be any error, to have it known, and he will recall the warrants\*.

\* These warrants were afterwards an article of his impeachment; and it was hard measure. It would have been happy for that great man, had he remained at the head of the government in Ireland, instead of taking the command of the army here. In the other coun-

try, he had certainly done important service to the English interest, and greatly improved that kingdom. Had he remained there, in all probability, the Irish rebellion had never broken out, or been extinguished immediately.

CHARLES  
I.  
1640.

*Earl Bristol.*

When this was moved, he spake unto it, and thought it fit, but to be done by the King.

*Earl Strafforde.*

He conceives that he had the order of the King, and approbation of the Lords; if not, he will amend it.

*King.*

The King avowed that he gave order; and that the Lords thought it reasonable, and allowed it.

*Earl Bristol.*

That there may be a Committee of the counties, for the counties of Northumberland, Bishopric, Cumberland and Westmoreland.

*King.*

Two of the Lords to be nominated, and to stay here to-morrow, to take order to settle the Committee.

*Earl Bristol.*

A great complaint comes from Carlisle to the King, of the Scots goods that come there. It will put all the borders into combustion.

*King.*

Before the cessation, order was given to forbid trade of the Scots; but now the cessation is agreed, it shall be altered.

Committee to sit at London, for the receipt of the petitions of the northern counties.

Earl Holland, Earl Berkshire, Viscount Mandeville, Lord Whar-  
ton, Lord Paget, and Pawlet, and Mr. Secretary Vane.

Gentlemen of Northumberland, Bishopric, Newcastle, Cumber-  
land, Westmoreland, came in, and were willed to appoint two or  
three principal men of every county to be Commissioners, for seeing  
the contribution raised, and to inform the Lords Committees of the  
progress thereof.

*A Relation*

*A Relat*

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\* The Marqu  
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CHARLES  
I.  
1641.*A Relation of the Incident, 1641. By Lord Lanerick.*

**Y**OU should blush when you remember to have owned so much friendship, for one branded with the black name of a traitor ; or to have loved a person that was capable of ingratitude to a deserving master ; for though I should have forgot the duty I owe his Majesty as a subject, whereunto I am sworn and tied by the strictest oaths can be imposed upon a christian ; yet, if I had retained the least sense of honour, I could never have forgot his Majesty's particular favours to me, who, from nothing, hath heaped both fortune and honours on me. I must beg from you the trouble of reading this paper, and shall not desire a more favourable construction of my actions, than you would of his, you never saw.

Since my coming into Scotland, his Majesty can bear me witness, if in every particular wherein I conceived he had an interest, I have not carried myself as a dutiful subject, and an affectionate servant to him.

It is true, the opinion I found he had of my brother, I conceived made him in some measure jealous of me, whereof, upon divers occasions, I strove to clear myself, and professed to him, that my affection to his service was such, as if I believed my brother were not so dutiful to him as he ought to be, no man should more willingly contribute to bring him to his deserved punishment than myself \*. His Majesty then, and upon divers other occasions, was pleased to say, he believed me to be an honest man, and that he had never heard any thing to the contrary ; but that he thought my brother had been very active in his own preservation.

\* The Marquis was odious both in England and Scotland ; so that had he not managed the opposers in both countries extremely, he would have been fallen upon like Strafforde and Laud.

CHARLES  
I.  
1641.

This expression of his Majesty's made me look more strictly unto my brother's actions, to see if I could find that in any particular whereby he strove to preserve himself, he had prejudiced the King's just designs. Possibly my blood might claim such an interest in his, as to procure a partial construction of his actions from me; but truly, the nearer I looked into his thoughts, the greater affection and fidelity I found in him to his master; and if in this judgment I have erred, it was the brain's fault, not the blood's; for all interest I laid aside.

I must confess his Majesty found great opposition in this country, yet (as I hope for mercy, though I found myself suspected by him) I strove to do him the best service I could; and when all differences were coming to some accommodation, and I in hopes his Majesty might have returned with satisfaction to England; all those hopes were destroyed, by this unfortunate accident, which now forceth this distance betwixt his Majesty and us. And thus it was first discovered;

Upon the 2d of this current, General Leslie sent to the Parliament House, to desire my brother and the Earl of Argyle, before their return to court, to come speak with him at his house, with as great privacy as could be; which they did; and with him they found one Lieutenant-colonel Hurrie, to whom the General said, my brother and Argyle were much obliged; and desired Hurrie to acquaint them with that particular, which he had already discovered to him; which Hurrie did, and told them, that he was informed there was a plot, that same night, to cut the throats both of Argyle, my brother, and myself; the manner of the doing of it, was discovered to him, by one Captain Stewart, who should have been an actor in it; and should have been done in the King's withdrawing chamber, where we three should have been called in, as to speak with his Majesty about some Parliament business; and that immediately two Lords should have entered at a door which answers from the garden, with some two hundred

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hundred or three hundred men; where they should either have killed us, or carried us a board a ship of his Majesty's, which then lay in the road. This was only the deposition of one witness; on which my brother and Argyle would not so far build, as to form any accusation; nor yet so far undervalue it, as not to labour to bring it to light, if any such thing there were. Therefore, my brother, when he spoke to the King, told him only in general, that he heard there was some plot intended against his life, the particulars whereof he could not then condescend upon, because he could not sufficiently prove it; but thereafter Captain Stewart being sent to him, confirmed all Hurrie had said in his name: there were likewise great presumptions found, from the depositions of one Lieutenant-colonel Hume, and divers others, who had been spoke to, to be in readiness against that night, and promises made to them of making their fortunes, if they would assist in a design which was intended. These were motives enough to move my brother and Argyle to look to themselves, and not to return to court that night.

They immediately sent thereafter for me (for the hour was near past, that this should have been put in execution), who was altogether ignorant of all these passages; and after I had refused four several times to come to them, (for I was engaged in some company I was loth to leave), I went, and found them in my brother Lindsay's \* house, where they acquainted me with every particular; and Captain Stewart and Hurrie being present, said, they would make good their depositions with the hazard of the last drop of their blood.

Truly, I was not so much troubled with the hazard of losing a life, wherein, God knows, these many years I have not taken great pleasure, as with the great prejudice I saw this would bring to his Majesty's affairs, and the peace and quiet of this poor kingdom.

\* He had been a covenanter from the beginning.

That

CHARLES

I.  
1641.

CHARLES  
I.  
1641.

That night we secured ourselves as well as we could, against the malice of our enemies, and the next morning wrote to his Majesty the reason of our absenting ourselves that night from court; and desired to know what his Majesty would be pleased to command us to do; which we should most readily obey. But it seems he was not satisfied with our letters; for that afternoon he came up to the Parliament House, with five or six hundred following his coach, amongst whom, were all those that were cited to the Parliament, and likewise those that were accused by Hurrie and Stewart, to have been of this plot against us. It grieved my soul, to see his Majesty take this course. To prevent tumult in the streets, we resolved to leave the town, which could not have been shunned if we had gone to the Parliament House with our friends at our backs, who by no means would condescend to leave us; yet before our going, we desired my Lord Chancellor to shew his Majesty, that our respects to him, and our desire to preserve the peace of the kingdom, moved us to it. The next morning, we all again wrote to his Majesty, in as humble and dutiful a way as we could possibly imagine; but the malice of our enemies was too strong, and had already possessed him with a bad impression of us.

The next day, I was informed, his Majesty had let fall some expressions to my disadvantage, in the Parliament House; whereupon I again sent to him, begging him to believe, that I had not a heart capable of a disloyal thought to him; and that if I believed my brother had any, he should not be troubled with thinking how to punish him, for I had both a heart and a hand able to do it; and that if his Majesty thought it fit I should return to court, I would there stay and hazard my life amongst the thickest crowd of my enemies, and willingly lose it, so I might express my respect and fidelity to him; but of this, I have had no answer, so I am forced to stay here, until I know

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his Majesty's pleasure. God is my witness, I cannot have so great a trouble for the loss of life and fortune, as for these infallible inconveniencies which I see will fall upon his Majesty, if he listen to the whispers of some that are about him; and though I am most confident his Majesty knows not of any such base design (if any such there were) yet I may say, he injures himself much, in striving to protect those that are accused.

CHARLES  
I.  
1641.

Forgive me troubling you so long, for it may be the last; and I should be sorry to die in your opinion a traitor to my Prince. I shall trouble you no more until I know what opinion you have of the humblest of your servants

Kennell,  
this 22d of October, 1641.

LANERICK\*.

\* This is a very dark account of an affair which nobody understood at the time, and which cannot now be cleared up. The Hamilton collection seems very defective at this period. The name of the person to whom it was addressed does not appear. There were great intrigues during that session of the Scotch Parliament; and the popular tide ran so strong against the King, that he was obliged to make very disadvantageous concessions, and to leave the power in the hands of the covenanting party.

JAMES II.  
1685.

No. V.

From the  
Harleian  
MSS.

*Papers relative to Monmouth's rebellion.*

[The Editor chuses to pass over the reign of Charles II. as his collection would not add materially to the anecdotes which have appeared in some \* late histories, and which in the main deserve great credit, being derived from very authentic sources.

He takes the account of the battle of Sedgemore to be the composition of King James himself; and it is far more particular and exact than any which has yet been published. Mr. Wade's confession adds some material circumstances to Lord Grey's very curious narrative, for which the public is indebted to the late Mr. Mallet.

It is perhaps more to be wished than expected that King James's Memoirs might be given entire to the world, by those who have the power over them; as it would be far more satisfactory to review them in their original state, than in such imperfect and hasty extracts as have hitherto been allowed to be taken. And to speak fairly, the prudential motives, which might formerly have rendered their publication improper, seem no longer to exist. A greater treasure of anecdotes for the perusal of an Englishman, one's imagination can hardly form an idea of; and it would be very material to combine and compare the whole historical mass, as it came, at different times, from the pen of that exact and diligent Prince, whose application to business may justly be proposed as a pattern to those of his rank, though his principles and his judgment were erroneous, and exceptionable, in the highest degree.]

\* Dalrymple's and Macpherson's.

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Vol. II

*King James's account of the battle at Sedgemore.*

THE Duke of Monmouth marched from Wells to Bridgwater on the 29th of June, from whence he sent his orders to the neighbouring villages to send in provisions to him; and to send in men with what tools they had, as if he intended to fix there, and fortify himself. But whether he designed it then, as it is likely he did, in expectation that there should be a rising in London, he sending Major Manley and his chaplain from thence to the city, to call upon his friends to do it; or that he intended, by sending those orders to the villages, only to make Lord Feversham believe he designed it, that he might the better give him the slip, and once again endeavour to get to Cainsham bridge before him, with design to march towards Cheshire, where he had great hopes that many men of estates and quality, as well as great numbers of common people, would join with him; whether this was so or no, or that he altered his mind after the departure of Mr. Manley, is not known. He began to march out of Bridgwater on the 4th of July, with all his army, about three o'clock in the afternoon, passing the bridge, and drew them all up in a meadow with an intention to begin his march for Cainsham so soon as it should grow dark, in order to his getting into Cheshire. But as his men were passing the bridge, having intelligence that the King's troops were come to Weston that afternoon, and that the foot was camped on the moor just under the village, and the horse quartered in it, and asking the spy if they began to entrench, and being told they did not, which being confirmed to him a second time, he altered his mind, and instead of marching northward, resolved to attack Lord Feversham where he lay, hoping to surprize him. To which purpose he began to march as it grew night, taking his way about, at the head of the moor, leaving Chedsey on his right hand; hoping by taking that compass, to

VOL. II, R r surprize

JAMES II.  
1685.

surprise the King's troops; who, he believed, would not expect him that way, it being also the best way he could take to attack them, the strait way being a perpetual defile till they were very near Weston, the camp to which Lord Feversham had advanced with all the King's troops; which were about 1800 foot, in six small battalions, and some 700 horse and dragoons, leaving the Earl of Pembroke at Middlesea, and villages adjacent, with the militia, horse and foot. The post of Weston was a very well chosen one, for such a small body of men, and very secure, the foot being camped with their rear to the village, and had their front covered by a ditch, which serves for a drain to the moor; and though it was then a dry season, was not to be past by horse but in one or two places; and it was this drain deceived the Duke of Monmouth, for he not knowing of it, thought the foot lay open, and consequently the whole quarter. And now Lord Feversham being advertised that the rebels army were passed over the bridge, and drawn up in a meadow by the river-side close by it, judged their design was to see if they could give him the slip, and get to Cainsham bridge before him; and, because his horse and dragoons had been much harassed by their perpetual marching, thought it best not to draw them out of their quarters, but to let them remain there, that they might be the fresher to march after the rebels the next day, in case they should march northward; but left a guard of one hundred horse, commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and fifty dragoons, upon the moor, the way the rebels came, which had advanced guards and centres before them, to give notice if any thing came that way. He placed another guard on the highway which comes from Bridgwater, and fifty foot in a sheepfold on the moor, to help to make their retreat in case they should be pushed. And to be advertised of the enemy's motion, he sent Major Oglethorpe with a party of horse, to cross both the roads, toward Bristol and Cainsham, that, if they were marched that way, he might know it; and was out himself till near one after midnight,

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midnight, at the horse guard on the moor towards Chedsey, expecting the return of his party, and to hear the noise of the enemy's march, in case they did, it being a very still night; and then returned back to his quarters.

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In the mean time, the rebels were marching; and though Oglethorpe crossed both the roads, as he was ordered, beyond the end of the moor, he fell not into their march, they not coming quite so far as he was, nor did he hear them; and so returning back to the moor, went through Chedsey, and crossed to the other road which goes from Bridgwater to Weston, and halting there within half a mile of that town, sent four horsemen to go, if they could, as far as the bridge, to bring him some certain news; who going as far as a barricado that was near the bridge, the centinel challenging them, they pretended to be of their men, and answered Monmouth, and then asked where he was; the fellow replied, he was marched with the whole army, and had only left a guard there; upon which they returned back to their party, and Oglethorpe made what haste he could back to the camp, to give notice of it.

In the mean time the Duke of Monmouth was upon his march towards Weston, taking the compass, as I have already said, by the way of the moor, and ordered what baggage and carriages he had, with a small guard, when he turned off into the moor, to go on the road to Axbridge, and to stay there till farther order, and continued his march to attack the King's troops. He had two defiles to pass after he was in the moor, the one presently after he came on it, and the other about a mile from the camp. He drew up in two columns after he had passed the first, the foot on the right, and the horse on the left, and so marched till he came to the second. There his horse passed over first, which were some eight squadrons; his cannon, which were but three small iron guns, marched over after them, at the head of the foot, which consisted of five great battalions, each of which had one company of at least one hundred

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scythemmen, instead of grenadiers; the horse was commanded by Lord Grey, with the title of Lieutenant General; the five regiments of foot, by Wade, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke of Monmouth's own regiment; Matthews commanded the next, then Holmes, Buf-fet, and Foulks. As they were passing the last defile, the advanced centries of the horse-guards discovered them, and galloped back to advertise Sir Francis Compton of it, who immediately gave the alarm to the camp, and staid in his post till he received a faint charge from an advanced party of some of the rebels horse; who, after having fired their carabines, and received some shot from his party, went off on their side, and he drew back to the camp on the right hand of our foot behind the ditch. Whilst this passed, the Duke of Monmouth hearing the alarm was taken in the King's camp, ordered Lord Grey to march fast on with the horse to fall in amongst the tents of the foot, and to take them by the flanks, not knowing any thing of the ditch which covered them, and told him he would march after him with the foot as fast as he could. And now in the camp, so soon as they had the alarm, the foot stood to their arms, and were in a moment drawn up in battle at the head of their tents, in very good order, and the horse were drawing out of the village as fast as they could. The foot were in six battalions; the first on the right was composed of Dunbarton's, one company of which were grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Douglas. Next to which were two battalions of the first regiment of guards, of six companies in each, besides one company of grenadiers of that regiment; at the head of the first of which was the Duke of Grafton their Colonel, and Eaton the Major of it, was at the head of the other. Next to them was a battalion of the second regiment of guards of six companies, and another company of grenadiers; at whose head was Lieutenant Colonel Sackville. Then five companies of Trelawny, one of which were grenadiers; commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Churchill. On the left of all was another small battalion, composed,

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as the former, commanded by Colonel Kirke. As for the horse, there were one hundred and fifty. commanded out of the three troops of guards; sixty grenadiers on horseback, commanded by Villiers; seven troops of the King's regiment of horse; and four of dragoons; the horse commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and the dragoons by Lord Cornbury, one of which last was at Lamport, commanded by Captain Coy, to secure that pass, and to get intelligence, in case the rebels should march Westward. The train of artillery consisted of sixteen field-pieces, under the conduct of Mr. Sheers \*. And now whilst the King's horse were getting in order, the rebels horse, in pursuance of the orders they had received, marched on to put them in execution, and meeting with the ditch, came along by it, and being challenged by Douglas, *who they were?* some one answered Albemarle; at least he understood it so, and let them pass without firing at them. Then coming up to the first battalion of the guards, Captain Berkley, who commanded the right wing of the musketeers of it, asked *who they were for?* They answered, *The King*. He called to them, *What King?* They answered, *Monmouth*, and *God with us*, which was their word. He then said, *Take this with you*; and made his wing fire at them: So did the other wing of that battalion; as also the next battalion of the same regiment, and half that of the two regiments of guards. Upon which, that party of the rebels horse ran away, leaving some of their men and horses on the ground, by the fire they had received; but to this day it was not known certainly, whether it was only part, or their whole horse that came so up to the ditch; or whether it was part of them, or a fresh party of them, which were charged some time after, by a party of our horse.

As this happened, Lord Feversham, who had been getting the horse in order, and sent for the cannon, came to the foot, and ordered them to keep their fire till the enemy came close up

\* Who translated Polybius.

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to them. Soon after this, the rebels foot came up, but not in good order; for the Duke of Monmouth would not stay after they had passed the last defile, to draw up in battle, but made them march on in their ordinary way of marching, battalion after battalion, guiding their march by the matches of Douglas (which were the only battalion of the King's foot that had matchlocks) as soon as they came in sight of the camp, and did not begin to form till they came within about eighty paces of the ditch, intending so soon as their whole line was drawn up, to have attacked the King's foot. But, according to the account Lieutenant Colonel Wade has given, before the three first battalions were quite got up upon a line, *his* being the right hand one, Matthews, which was the next to him, without order from their commander, began to fire; then his, and Holmes's, which was on Matthews left, did the like. After which they could never make their men advance one foot; but stood firing as they were, and though they thought that their right was over against the King's left, they were mistaken; for their right reached no farther than the first battalion of the guards, and their three small guns were advanced as near as could be, just before the interval which was between Matthews and Holmes, and were very well plied, and did great execution on Douglas, and the first battalion of the guards; which two indeed bore all the brunt of the rebels fire, and lost many officers and soldiers, and most of them by the cannon. For though the rebels fired hard, their men being new, shot too high, and they continued firing at least three quarters of an hour; and except Douglas who fired a little, the rest never fired a shot, but bore the rebels shot both small and great with great order and steadiness, only the King's cannon which came soon up in the intervals of the battalions, plied the rebels very hard, and did good execution.

It is a hard matter to give a very exact account of such an action as this, which began in the night, and was ended by break of day; and to do right to all the general officers and other commanders, who behaved themselves with great steadiness and resolution

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solution in their several posts and stations, as appeared by the suc-  
 cess they had. Whilst this was passing between the foot, Lord  
 Feverham ordered Villiers with all the horse-guards and grenadiers  
 on horseback (except that party of them which had been out with  
 Oglethorpe), Captain Adderly's troop of horse, and one troop of  
 dragoons, to pass over the ditch on the left of the foot, and to draw  
 up on the enemy's right, but not to charge them; and meeting  
 Oglethorpe who was but then come back with his party of guards  
 and volunteers from towards Bridgwater, and Captain Upert with  
 his small guard of fifty horse, brought them with him behind the  
 foot, to the right, where finding the rest of the horse and dragoons  
 drawn up, the last next the foot, and the horse on the right of all,  
 ordered them to pass over the ditch; and Oglethorpe, who with his  
 party passed over first, met with a body of the rebels horse. What  
 their number was, the darkness of the night, and their running so  
 soon, made it not to be known; so that instead of pursuing them,  
 they were ordered to halt; and after they had stood some time front-  
 ing that way, Lord Feverham ordered them to wheel to the left,  
 and to keep their ground, not knowing what was become of all the  
 rebels horse; not judging it proper then to let them charge their  
 foot; only Oglethorpe, with his party, tried one of their battalions,  
 but was beaten back by them, though they were mingled amongst  
 them, and had several of his men wounded and knocked off their  
 horses, amongst which number was Captain Sarsfield, who was  
 knocked down by the butt end of a musket and left for dead upon  
 the place. I forgot to give an account of one thing which hap-  
 pened before the horse and dragoons passed over the ditch; which  
 was, that Holmes's battalion firing at the Lord Cornbury's troop of  
 dragoons, his Lieutenant Warde, who was standing by him, called  
 out to that battalion not to fire more at them, for that they were  
 friends; which they thinking to be true, did not only that, but  
 Holmes himself, taking them for friends, came up on horseback from

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the head of his battalion to the very ditch behind which they stood. The same Lieutenant calling to him, *Who are you for?* and being answered, *For who but Monmouth;* the Lieutenant and one of the serjeants fired at him, killed his horse under him, and broke his arm, and there he lay. Soon after which, Lord Churchill passing over the ditch there, when that wing passed, seeing him hold up his head as he lay, asked him, *Who art thou?* He answered, he was not in a condition to tell, and lay still, but afterwards got up, and was taken by some straggling men among the tents of the foot.

And now as things were in this condition, Lord Churchill went to the left of the foot, and ordered the two Tangier battalions to march from their post, there being no enemy against them, and to march behind the other battalion, to draw up on Douglas's right. But, as I take it, just as they had got thither, the day beginning to break, Lord Feverham, who was with the horse on the right, seeing no appearance of any more of the rebels horse, and that the pikes of one of their battalions began to shake, and at last open, ordered the foot to pass over the ditch to charge them; which they did. Which the rebels seeing, ran before they came to handy blows, and the five companies of grenadiers were ordered to follow the pursuit, and some of the horse and dragoons fell in with them, and did execution on them, till they got off the moor into the inclosures, which they soon did, the moor being but eight hundred yards broad in that place, from ditch to ditch. There was the greatest slaughter of the rebels in that ditch, which was deep and boggy, and in a corn field, which was on the other side of it; and there they took and gave quarter to about twelve hundred of them.

As for the Duke of Monmouth himself, he brought up the foot; and then went to his cannon to see them well plied, as indeed they were, by a Dutch gunner he had brought over with him; but some time after, his horse were all gone, and that Williams, a servant of his, told him he might see the King's horse on their flanks, going, as  
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he believed, to encompass them, he put off his arms, and taking one hundred guineas from his servant, left his foot still fighting, and went away with Lord Grey (who came to him after his horse were all dispersed or gone), a Brandenburgher, and one or two more, and went up the hill which overlooks the moor as you go towards Bristol, and from thence looked about, and could see his foot still firing; and continued on his way to the top of Mendip hills, where he disguised himself, and altering his course, took his way towards Ringwood, designing to get into the new forest; which if he could once have done, he looked on himself as safe, Lord Grey being well acquainted there; and then it would have been easy for him to have found some embarkation to have carried him beyond sea. But to return to his beaten troops, Buffet's battalion suffered the most, who were all of the town of Taunton, and were for the most part killed or taken. The rest were all dispersed, though they suffered not so much; only Wade with some two or three hundred foot of his battalion, got in a body into Bridgwater, where he found three of their troops of horse, which had run away in the night, drawn up in good order in the market-place, commanded by Captain Alexander, Captain Hucker, and one Tucker. At first they would not own they were beaten, to the people of the town; but after they had consulted a little amongst themselves, thought the best way they could do for self-preservation was to disperse, which they did, every man shifting for himself; so that when Lord Feversham marched towards Bridgwater, having sent before him a trumpeter to summon the town, expecting that those who had escaped from the battle, might be rallied there to defend it, he found them all gone.

As for the number of the slain on the King's side, they amounted not in all to above        and some        wounded\*. On the rebels,

\* The London Gazette is silent as to the account. According to Ralph, those who lost on the King's side, so that the Editor rated it highest, speak of four hundred. cannot venture to fill up the blanks in this



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there lay about two hundred of them dead on the moor; what were slain in the ditch, and the inclosures, in the pursuit, is very uncertain; there were about      hundreds of them taken, amongst which, very few officers. It is very hard to give an exact relation of such a night piece of service as this was, so that it is not to be wondered at, if one does not give so particular an account of the behaviour of the general officers, and indeed of all the officers of the several bodies of horse, foot, and dragoons, who, it is certain, behaved themselves with great steadiness and temper, as well as resolution, and showed themselves to be old troops, and what difference there is between such, and new raised men. And here I cannot chuse but make this remark, That as God Almighty has been pleased to be sometimes called the Lord of hosts, so he has many and many a time made his power to be known upon such occasions as these, and as he commanded Gideon to send away all his army, but three hundred chosen men, that the stiff-necked might own his power, so he has, in our days, saved from total ruin and destruction, with a handful of men, not only these three kingdoms, but France itself, in 1652 \*, when nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved that Monarchy from being presently destroyed by rebellious subjects and foreign enemies.

\* This alludes to the affair of Gien between the Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne; when the latter gained great reputation, and saved the King and the Court from being taken prisoners. This allusion to the French civil war, in which the Duke of York himself had served, confirms the notice of this paper's being his composition.

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JAMES II.  
1685.*Mr. Wade's further \* Information, October the 11th, 1685.*

WHILST we were on shipboard, we received several commissions from the Duke in paper †. When we approached Lyme, on the night before we landed, we came to an anchor; and in the night the Duke sent Mr. Thomas Dare ashore by the boat, who landed about two miles from Lyme, with instruction to learn the present posture of the country, and inform Colonel Venner in the boat, and to speed away for Taunton, to raise that place, and to bring what strength he could to Lyme. At break of day, the tide then serving, we weighed anchor and set sail for Lyme, and in our course met the boat, which returning gave this account, That they had put Mr. Dare ashore; that that part of the country was clear, no force thereabout; but that the Duke of Albemarle was gone to Exeter, to raise the militia of Devonshire; and that the Somersetshire forces were on foot, and at Taunton: upon which the Duke consulted whether we ought to land, and it was resolved that we ought. We came about noon to an anchor, in the bay before the town, within a league of it, and immediately surpris'd a little fisher boat with three persons in it, by whom we understood more perfectly the posture of the town, and that we should meet with no resistance in it, as they believed. Our two smaller ships sail'd about half a mile nearer the town than the frigate, which brought forth the Custom-house boat and officers, who were surpris'd by Mr. Hayes, who commanded the ship of burden, on board of whom they came, and brought prisoners on board the frigate: the Duke treated them very civilly, and learned from them, that no resistance could be made by the town. After dinner, when the tide served, we weighed anchor and came as near the town as we could, and being then masters of seven boats, we got all our land force on

Wednesday  
night.

Thursday.

\* The first information is missing.

† The list follows, but is thought not material enough to be inserted.

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board of them, and landed near Lyme, on the strand, being about sunset. From whence we marched, very well armed and clothed, to Lyme, in a military manner, the Duke at the head of us, where we were received by the shouts and acclamations of the people, the mayor being fled.

Our company was by the Duke divided into three parts, two-thirds whereof were appointed to guard the avenues of the town, the remaining third was to get the arms and ammunition from on board the ships; my part of it was to get the pieces of cannon on shore, and see them mounted, which I performed by break of day, having good assistance of mariners and townsmen. I forgot to mention that at our landing, near sixty young fellows of the town, offered their service to the Duke, and were immediately listed, and had arms delivered them: by break of day before the morning (the news of the Duke's landing being spread abroad into the country) many came and offered their service, I suppose some hundreds. Some said that they were in bed when they heard the news, but that they immediately arose and came away: the next day great numbers presented themselves to the Duke. The method was, that when they came, the Duke caused their names to be taken, and sent them by a messenger with the list of their names to the Town-hall, where the arms were, and persons to give them out, who immediately armed them, and sent them by other messengers to the officers who guarded the avenues, where they were put in order, and exercised.

Friday.

That day being Friday, the morrow after our landing, all diligence imaginable was used to get horses; messengers were sent to seize all they could lay their hands on near the town; by noon considerable numbers were brought in, I suppose near forty or fifty; and upon intelligence that there were several persons in Bridport, six miles from Lyme, ready to join us, if the way were clear of the constable's guard then kept up in the town, Major Manly was sent with fifteen horse, mounted for the most part by officers, and gentlemen

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lemen that came over with the Duke, to bring off the persons that were willing to join them. But they found not only the constable's watch, but a troop of militia horse to oppose them; which the major charged and routed, killing two of the troopers; and finding them supported with greater force, retreated to Lyme without pursuit, or a man wounded.

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This being Friday at night, we had a rendezvous of our forces, and marched out of town with about eight hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, and three pieces of cannon, to a cross-way, where we posted ourselves advantageously in the hedges and streights, to receive the Duke of Albemarle, who (as the Duke was informed, yet falsely) intended to fall upon us that night. This night the foot lay upon the ground with their arms, in rank and file, and the horsemen on the ground, holding their bridles in their hands, as their horses stood in squadron. This night I had no command of foot, but a party of horse, about twenty-five in number; there were left in town about two hundred foot and one piece of cannon.

Early in the morning being Saturday, a little after break of day, Mr. Dare returned to us, with about forty horse pretty well mounted, but few of them armed, and all but ordinary fellows; but himself very well mounted: for which horse, in the evening \* Mr. Fletcher and he falling out, Mr. Dare received a shot in the head, of which he instantly died, and Mr. Fletcher was committed prisoner to the ship; which was a great loss to the Duke, in Mr. Dare, who was the Duke's Secretary, and paymaster of the army, and in Mr. Fletcher, who was his best horse officer, and had received a commission to be Lieutenant Colonel to my Lord Grey. By Mr. Dare we understood, the Somerset militia was in Taunton, which kept it from rising. The same morning came to me Mr. Tyler of Peristole, whom I presently made my Lieutenant; he came from

Saturday.

\* The famous Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.

Exeter,

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1685.

Exeter, and gave the Duke an account, that the Duke of Albe-  
marle was in no condition to fall upon him in some days.

This day I formed the Duke's regiment, and delivered every  
Captain his command; the regiment, as it then stood, amounted to  
about five hundred men. Colonel Holmes formed his this day,  
amounting, I believe, to near the same number. Colonel Fouke  
his, being, I believe, about three hundred and fifty; and the yellow,  
which was afterwards Matthews's, began to be formed, under the  
command of Major Fox. Near the evening the Duke told me, I  
must prepare a party of three hundred foot of his own regiment, to  
which he would add a hundred of Fouke's, under the command  
of Captain Francis Goodenough, and a party of forty horse com-  
manded by my Lord Grey, to fall upon the militia of Dorsetshire,  
then at Bridport six miles off us; that we were to march all night,  
and beat up their quarters by break of day; which I did. The  
order of our march was, that Lieutenant Mitchell should lead the  
vanguard, being of forty musketeers, and be followed with a hun-  
dred musketeers under the command of Captain Thompson; the rest  
of the foot to follow, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Venner;  
and the horse in the rear commanded by Lord Grey, who command-  
ed the whole party in chief, but was ordered by the Duke to take  
the advice of Colonel Venner.

We marched all night in great secrecy, and by the way met with  
information, that the forces in the town were twelve hundred foot,  
and a hundred horse strong, at the least, which was an unequal  
match for us. But being positively commanded to attempt it, we  
were resolved to do our best endeavours; we carried the person with  
us prisoner, that gave us the account; and somewhat after broad  
day, we came to Bridport, being favoured with a thick mist.

Sunday.

They had no out-guards at all but what we met with just at the  
town's end; but before I speak of the action, I shall set down what  
I observed of the situation of the town.

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It is a long town of one broad street, and a cross street, a bridge of stone at each end of the long street; the horse, and some small party of foot, were in the town, the rest of the foot were in a meadow, beyond the farthestmost bridge. We, entering the town, met with small resistance; the out-guards retired with expedition to the main-guard, who were as speedy in their retreat, enduring only one volley of our van-guard of musketry; so that we became masters of the town immediately, and found many of the militia horses running up and down the streets without riders.

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1685.

We having secured the entrance into the town by a stand of pikes, and two or three files of musketeers, under the command of Ensign Ascough, and the great cross street, by two little parties of foot, commanded by Lieutenants Lillingstone and Brinscombe, left we should be surrounded, the number of the enemy being so great; we advanced with a small body of foot, to attack the farthestmost bridge, under the command of Colonel Venner, and having drawn up another small body of foot behind them for their succour, I was commanded by Colonel Venner, to desire my Lord Grey to advance the horse, to countenance the foot, which he did; but he was no sooner passed me, than I found myself with my reserve of foot which I commanded, engaged by some who fired at us out of windows. This occasioned our breaking open the doors of the houses, in which unhappy encounter, those two gentlemen Mr. Strangeways and Mr. Coker lost their lives. The latter was killed by Colonel Venner, after he had shot the Colonel into the belly; the other was slain by a musketeer, as he was endeavouring to pistol Captain Francis Goodenough, after, as we thought, he had taken quarter. After this was over, we advanced to the attack of the bridge, to the defence of which, the officers had with much ado prevailed with their soldiers to stand. Our foot fired one volley upon them, which they answered with another, and killed us two men of the foot; at which my Lord Grey with the horse ran, and never turned face till they

JAMES II.  
1688.

they came to Lyme, where they reported me to be slain, and all the foot to be cut off. This flight of Lord Grey so discouraged the van-guard of the foot, that they threw down their arms, and began to run; but I bringing up another body to their succour, they were persuaded to take their arms again, all but such as ran into houses for shelter, which were near sixteen or seventeen. Colonel Venner being dismayed by his wound received from Mr. Coker, commanded us to retreat, and would not suffer us to make a second attack upon the bridge; and when he had so done, he mounted and followed my Lord Grey to Lyme, leaving us to retreat as we could. I drew off my guards on the cross street, and caused my men to retreat to the first bridge we had possessed at the entrance into the town, and then staying about half an hour, expected that the enemy would have attacked us, as we did them; not doubting, by an ambuscade of musketeers that we had near the bridge, to give them good entertainment; but they contented themselves to repossess the middle of the town, and shout at us out of musket-shot; we answered them alike, and by this bravo having a little established the staggering courage of our soldiers, we retreated in pretty good order, with twelve or fourteen prisoners, and about thirty horse, sending two or three Captains before with a party of muskets to dress some ambushes in case we had been pursued; but we had no occasion for that precaution.

When we were come within two miles of Lyme, we were met by the Duke at the head of a good body of horse, to favour the retreat as he thought of his straggling forces, but was surprised to see us marching in good order. He thanked me for bringing off his men, and demanded of me if it were true, as it was reported, that my Lord Grey ran away? I answered him, Yes; at which he seemed much surprised, yet nevertheless continued him in his command. We were much tired with our march, yet no sooner a little refreshed, but the Duke told me, I must be ready for the march early on  
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the morrow morning, and said that now Venner was wounded, he expected I should take the charge of the regiment on myself; he likewise acquainted me, that he had intelligence of the Duke of Albemarle's march with the Devonshire, and of the march of the Somersetshire forces, to coup him up; and unless he marched early the next morning, all was lost. I took little rest, being sent by the Duke to fetch all the officers into the field, which I effected about two in the morning, and laid me down on the ground till three, when we had orders to beat the drums: I perceived that in my absence the army was considerably increased; for on Monday, about ten o'clock, we marched out of Lyme near three thousand strong. I had the van-guard that day of the foot.

JAMES II.  
1685.

After we had marched about two hours towards Axminster, we discovered, on one side, the march of the Devonshire forces; on the other, of the Somersetshire; to a conjunction, as we supposed, in Axminster; which caused us to double our march, that we might prevent it. The scouts of the Somersetshire forces had first entered the town, but on the approach of ours they retired. The Duke possessed himself of the town, and seized on the passes, regarding each army, which he guarded with cannon and musketeers; the places, by reason of the thick hedges and strait ways, being very advantageous for that purpose. I was posted with the Duke's regiment regarding the Devonshire forces, and had the German Gentleman, now a prisoner, joined to me by the Duke for my assistant on our side. The horse of the Devonshire forces advanced within half a quarter of a mile of our advanced post; but discovering that we had lined the hedges, they retreated. We advanced upon them, but the Duke came and commanded us back, telling us, that the Somersetshire forces were likewise retired on the other side; and said it was not his business at present to fight, but to march on. So we drew off our parties from their posts, and encamped in a strong piece of ground

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JAMES II.  
1685.

on the other side of Axminster towards Chard, putting out very strong guards, where we lodged that night.

Tuesday.

We marched early the next morning from thence to Chard, where we again encamped in a field near the town, and lay there all the night. There happened nothing very remarkable in this day's march, save that Mr. John Speake came in to us, with a company of ragged horse, whose names I knew not, nor did not inquire, being a company of ordinary fellows. And here began the first proposal of Mr. Ferguson, to proclaim the Duke of Monmouth King; it was seconded by my Lord Grey, but easily ran down by those that were against it. Here we likewise learnt, that the retreat of the Somersetshire forces was little better than a flight, many of the soldiers coats and arms being recovered and brought in to us.

Wednesday.

This day we marched to Ilminster, and likewise encamped in a field about half a mile beyond the town; nothing at all happened remarkable in this day's march.

Thursday.

We marched to Taunton, and likewise encamped in a field near the town, and lay there all night, and the next day; when we were presented with colours by the maids of Taunton, whose names I know not, but I suppose they cannot be wanting. This day the Duke had intelligence of the Duke of Albemarle having possessed himself of Wellington, a town within five miles of Taunton; which caused the Duke to make some small entrenchments on the roads leading that way, and to put out strong guards. I was commanded on the guard with the whole Duke's regiment, where I continued that night, and all the next day till evening, being Saturday, when I was discharged, and had quarters assigned me for the regiment. This was the first night we lay in beds, after our coming over. This evening we received orders for a march early the next morning.

During our abode in Taunton, I was called by the Duke to a council of war, being the first I believe that he held, doing all things

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JAMES II.  
1685.

things before by his own judgment. It was proposed, whether we should march back and fight the Duke of Albemarle, or march on. And it was resolved, we should march on. He then took me and some others aside, and persuaded us, that we should consent to his being proclaimed King; alleging, that, according to the intelligence he had received, it was a great obstruction to his affairs, and the only reason why the gentlemen of the country came not in to him, being all averse to a Commonwealth; which, as he said, they were all jealous we intended to set up; and promised us, that he would the next day set forth a proclamation, whereby he would make fresh promises to the people, of the liberties were promised them by his declaration. We submitted to it, and it was done at the Market-cross at Taunton, being read by Mr. Tily. The Duke's quarters in this town, was at Mr. Hooker's. During our stay here, we had slain Cornet Legg, in a horse skirmish near the town. Sunday morning we marched to Bridgwater, having addition to our army of Lieutenant-colonel Basset's regiment of foot, which, the officers said, consisted of eight hundred; to complete which, he had stolen from every regiment all the Taunton people that came to them at Lyme, being I suppose at least two hundred; of Captain Slape's company of scythes, and musketeers, being a hundred, which were added to the Duke's regiment; and of two troops of horse, Captain Hooker's and Captain Tucker's, making near one hundred and sixty. I know of nothing remarkable in this march, save that we had very good quarters at Bridgwater, and for the most part free.

Monday; we marched to Glastonbury, being an exceeding rainy day. We quartered our foot in the abbey and churches, making very great fires to dry and refresh our men, and had provisions from the Commissaries in our march. This day we were alarmed by a party of Lord Oxford's horse; and on the other side had news, that the militia had left Wells, and were retreated to Bath and Bristol.

T t 2

Tuesday;

JAMES II.  
1685.

Tuesday; we marched to Shipton Mallet; and were quartered in houses. Here the Duke told me of his intent to attack Bristol, and that, on the Somersetshire side; and asked my opinion therein. I informed him, that if it was in any part tenable, it was there; and therefore that, in my opinion, he ought to pass the river Avon at Keynsham-bridge (which is the midway between Bath and Bristol), and attack it on the Gloucestershire side, where there were many advantages not to be found on the Somersetshire side. He was satisfied with what I said, and resolved to do accordingly; so, in order to it, we marched next day (Wednesday) to Pensford. We were all this day alarmed in the rear, by a party of horse and dragoons; nevertheless we lodged quietly that night in Pensford, within five miles of Bristol, where we met with nothing remarkable, but that we perceived a great fire in or near Bristol that night. By the redness of the sky, we supposed they had set the suburbs on fire, lest we should have possessed ourselves of it; but it seems it was a ship accidentally set on fire.

Thursday; early in the morning we marched towards Keynsham, the Duke having the night before sent a troop of horse under the command of Captain Tily, to possess themselves of the town, and repair the bridge, which we had intelligence was broken down to prevent our passage. At Captain Tily's coming to the town, there was in it a troop of militia horse of Gloucestershire, who at his approach immediately retired, and left behind them two horses, and one of their party prisoner. By break of day the bridge was repaired, and we possessed ourselves thereof about ten o'clock in the morning, marching over with our whole army; but it proving very rainy weather, and not far from the city of Bristol, which we intended to fall upon that night, having those in our camp that perfectly understood the city, we were ordered to march back again, and take up quarters in the town, as if we intended to lodge there all night. But we had hardly taken up our quarters, when we

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1685.

were alarmed by two parties of horse, falling into the town at two several places, with whom our horse unadvisedly engaged, and after the loss of above fourteen of our own party, amongst whom was Brand, Captain of horse, they retired, leaving us three prisoners; from whom the Duke was informed, that the King's army being, as they said, about four thousand, was at hand. Upon which the Duke altered his resolution of attacking Bristol, and debated it with his officers, whether it was best to march forward to Gloucester, and so breaking down the bridge there over Severn, and keeping the river on our flank, to march into Shropshire and Cheshire, where he supposed he had friends to join him; or to march into Wiltshire, where, he was informed by Mr. Adlam, who had come to him the day before, was a considerable body of horse would join him. The arguments against the march to Gloucester were, that it was four days march; that our soldiers wanted shoes; that there was a considerable body of horse and dragoons in our rear, who would be continually retarding our march, till the foot came up, and would necessitate us to fight before we could reach Gloucester; that Wiltshire was near at hand, and that it would be better to march thither, and having joined those horse, to fight before the King's army grew stronger. The latter advice prevailed; so we marched away that night, and the next morning, being Friday, we drew up before Bath, and summoned it only in bravado, for we had no expectation of its surrendry; and from thence we marched to Philip's Norton, where we lodged that night, the foot all in the field. Here the Duke was very disconsolate, and began to complain, that all people had deserted him; for there was no appearance of the Wiltshire horse Mr. Adlam talked of, although we were near enough to have joined them, if they had had any stomach to it. Indeed the Duke was so dejected, that we could hardly get orders from him. We lay all in the field this night at the head of our men, and were several times alarmed, but not in earnest, till the morning, being Saturday, when

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1685.

when we were fallen upon by the avant guard of the King's army, just as we were marching out of town. There is a long lane that leads out of a ploughed field into the town, being near a quarter of a mile long; on each side, the enclosures are surrounded with good thick hedges. At the end of this lane, the Duke had caused a barricade to be made across the way, for the security of his quarters, which was guarded by fifty musketeers commanded by Captain Vincent. Just by this barricade, was a little bye-way, which led into the back part of the town, through a gentleman's court, near to which court the foot were encamped in two fields. The grenadiers, which were the forlorn hope of the King's army, advanced through the lane up to the barricade, which the Duke having notice of, caused his own regiment of foot to march through the gentleman's court, up to the side of the lane, and attack them on the flank, which was done; and the regiment being much superior in number, we fell with a good part of them into their rear; so that they were surrounded on all hands, save the left flank, by which way, through the hedge, many of them escaped. While we were thus engaged with the grenadiers in the lane, Lieutenant-colonel Holmes was commanded to attack a party of foot who had lined the hedge that flanked us, which he did; and after about an hour's dispute, having made them retire from hedge to hedge, he gained the furthestmost hedge next the field; the King's foot, together with a party of horse that had likewise entered the lane, retiring to the King's army, who were drawn up in the ploughed field, about five hundred paces from the hedge. We having gained the hedges next the field, drew up all our foot, ranging in one line all along the hedge, our horse behind them; and drew up two pieces of cannon into the mouth of the lane, and guarded them with a company of scythemen; our remaining two were planted on a little eminence on the right side of the lane. The King's cannon were likewise drawn up in opposition to ours, and so they began to cannonade one another, which lasted

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lasted near six hours without any great loss of either side ; on ours we lost only one man by the cannon.

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1685.

Towards the evening, colonel Venner had persuaded the Duke (against all reason) to retreat ; but it coming to a debate, it was resolved to the contrary, and resolutions taken to cut passages through the hedges, and come to a battle ; but while we were doing it, the King's army retreated, and we had no mind to pursue them, because we had no manner of confidence in our horse. In this action we computed the loss on the King's side, to be about eighty men ; on ours, about eighteen, amongst which, were two Captains of foot, Patchall, and young Holmes, both of Colonel's Holmes's regiment. Blake, Colonel Holmes's Lieutenant, and Chaddock, a Captain of horse, killed unfortunately by our own men. We staid in the field till about 11 o'clock at night, and then leaving great fires, we marched (I suppose by the advice of Colonel Venner) to Froome, in a miserable rainy night, up to the knees in dirt, almost to the destruction of our foot. We came to Froome about eight in the morning being Sunday, where we put our men into quarters, and staid there all that day and the next, to refresh our men. Here the Duke was very disconsolate, complaining that all people had deserted him ; that nobody stirred any where to make a diversion ; that not one of the horse talked of by Mr. Adlam appeared ; that he was likewise disappointed in the desertion he expected from the King's forces ; and that this must of necessity come to ruin. And therefore he thought it advisable to leave his army, and repair with his officers to some sea-port town, and make his escape with them beyond sea. This was mightily applauded by Colonel Venner, but my Lord Grey and others opposed it, as a thing so base, that it could never be forgiven by the people, to be so deserted, and that the Duke must never expect more to be trusted. At length it was laid aside, and resolutions were taken by him to stick by his army ;



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1685.

nevertheless Colonel Venner, and Major Parsons, Holmes's Major, went away privately.

Monday night; the Duke gave orders for a march on Tuesday morning, and it was intended for Warminster; but on Tuesday morning we had intelligence of a double nature. On the one hand, that the King's army were marched early that morning from Bradford to Westbury, and so crossed our march to Warminster; on the other hand, a Quaker, whose name I know not, that had formerly been with the Duke at Glastonbury, to inform him of a great club army that were up in the marshes in Somersetshire, about Axbridge, came now again to the Duke, and acquainted him, that they were ten thousand strong, and that, if the Duke would retire towards them, they would join him. This prevailed with the Duke to order his march to Shipton Mallet, where we came that night, and were quartered in houses here; I suppose we were at free quarters, money being short. The next morning we marched to Wells, on information that there were some carriages left there of the King's, guarded by a small party of dragoons, which we took; and quartered there all night.

Thursday morning, we marched towards Bridgwater, thinking to meet with the great club army, which proved to be about one hundred and sixty, instead of ten thousand. We lay in the moor all night, and marched next day, being Friday, to Bridgwater, to refresh our men, and fix our arms, which were very much out of order, sending warrants before, to summon in the country people with spades and pick-axes to work, as if we intended to fortify. Something of that nature was done, but only to secure our quarters, and amuse the world, intending nothing less than to stay there. Saturday was spent in exercising our men, and fixing our arms. This day great numbers went from us to Taunton to see their friends, and returned, for the most part, again on Sunday. Sunday morning, the Duke received an account of the march of the King's army from Somerton, and therefore prepared

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JAMES II.  
1685.

prepared himself to march from them, which he did intend to do the evening following, and to march all night to Axbridge; and from thence, passing Keynsham bridge, to march to Gloucester, and so passing the Severn, to take the formerly intended course into Shropshire and Cheshire. Our carriages were loaded in order to it; but in the afternoon, about three o'clock, having an account of the posture of the King's army in Sedgemore, that the foot were encamped in the field, the horse going into the villages to quarter; that all the cannon were drawn up against the way to Bridgwater; and that we might march upon them another way, and avoid their cannon; he called the field officers together, and demanded of them, if they thought it was advisable to fight, if we could surprize them in the night? They all agreed it was; provided the foot did not entrench. Upon which he sent back the spy that brought him the account, to see if they entrenched or not, who brought answer, That they did not; but took no notice of the ditch that lay in the way of our march. About eleven o'clock that night, we marched out of the town. I had the vanguard of the foot, with the Duke's regiment; and we marched in great silence along the road that leads from Bridgwater to Bristol, until we came to the lane that passed into the moor where the King's army was. Then we made a halt for the horse to pass by, and received our orders; which were, that the horse should advance first, and push into the King's camp, and mixing with the King's foot, endeavour to keep them from coming together; that the cannon should follow the horse, and the foot the cannon, and draw all up in one line, and so finish what the horse had begun, before the King's horse or cannon could get in order. The horse advanced to the ditch and never farther; but on the firing of some of the King's foot, ran out of the field. By that time our foot came up, we found our horse all gone, and the King's foot in order. I advanced within thirty or forty paces of the ditch, being opposite to the Scotch battalion of the King's, as I learnt since; and

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1685.

there was forced to make a full stop, to put the battalion in some order; the Duke having caused them to march so exceeding swift after he saw his horse run, that they were all in confusion. By that time I had put them in some order, and was preparing to pass the ditch (not intending to fire till I had advanced close to our enemies) Colonel Matthews was come up, and began to fire at a distance; upon which the battalion I commanded fired likewise, and after that I could not get them to advance. We continued in that station firing for about an hour and a half, when it being pretty light, I perceived all the battalions on the left, running (who, as I since understood, were broken by the King's horse of the left wing), and finding my own men not inclinable to stand, I caused them to face about, and made a kind of disorderly retreat to a ditch a great way behind us, where we were charged by a party of horse and dragoons, and routed; above one hundred and fifty getting over the ditch. I marched with them on foot to Bridgwater, where I met with two or three full troops of horse, that had run away out of the field, without striking a stroke. I got my horses; and with about twenty officers and others, amongst which was Ferguson, I went westward to meet two troops of horse who were gone to Minehead, to fetch up six pieces of cannon, being Captain Hullin's and Captain Carey's troops. With part of them, amounting in all to near fifty, we went to Ilfracombe, and seized on a vessel, which we victualled, and put to sea, but were forced ashore by two frigates cruising on the coast; after which we dispersed and fled into the woods. I, for my part, was alone, from that time, to the time I was taken coming out of the house of John Birch in the parish of Brendin, in the county of Devon.

Thus I have given an account of what I can remember, which indeed amounts to little more than a journal of the marches and action of the army; it is the full of what I know. As to the persons that advanced money, I know of none, nor have not heard of the name of any; for my part I was never with the Duke, but generally

rally in the council of war, was received to be the expence of the I ever hear that was by ordinance

As to the Romsey, I cannot have heard, but I know not;

I know not related, having nor do I know of the Cheshire affair. Captain Matthews answered, Yes sir, into the county

The persons a Quaker, my concern in the Norton, Richard West, William

The persons are, John Tr Norton, Richard enough, Robert James Hooper, John Freke, Joseph Tily, Bettiscombe, Speke, Charles Shadwell, He

rally in the field, unless when I came for orders, or was at a council of war, which was very seldom; neither can I imagine the sum received to be very great; for it may be demonstrated that the whole expence of the Duke's army may be defrayed for 3000l.; nor did I ever hear that there was any sum advanced towards it, but what was by ordinary and middle sort of people.

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As to the annuity of my Lord Stamford, granted to Colonel Romsey, I cannot say any thing positively to it. Such a rumour I have heard, but whether it were so in truth, or only money lent, I know not; it was transacted (if at all) while I was sick at Bristol.

I know nothing more of Sir William Ellis, than what I have related, having never been in the gentleman's company in my life, nor do I know him if I see him. I know nothing more of the Cheshire affair, than what I have set down, only that asking Captain Matthews, if the Cheshire gentlemen would not stir? He answered, Yes surely; for he understood my Lord Delamere was gone into the country for that purpose.

The persons to have gone into America were John Ayloff, Roger a Quaker, myself, and Thomas Merry. The seven to have been concerned in the plantation as proprietors, Edmund Waller, Edward Norton, Richard Nelthorp, John Freke, Thomas Merry, Robert West, William Penn, and several other Quakers.

The persons of the King's Head Club I can at present remember are, John Trenchard, Henry Trenchard, John Ayloff, Edward Norton, Richard Nelthorp, Richard Goodenough, Francis Goodenough, Robert West, John Romsey, Robert Blaney, Thomas Dore, James Hooper, Thomas Hooper, Daniel Blake, Peter Warburton, John Freke, Edmund Waller, Carleton Whitlocke, Thomas Day, Joseph Tily, John Rowe, — Legg, Joseph Ashurst, Christopher Bettiscombe, Zechariah Bourn, William Clark, — Clerk, Hugh Speke, Charles Speke, Francis Trenchard, John Allen, Thomas Shadwell, Henry Baker, Charles Umphrevil, Aaron Smith, Henry

JAMES II. Starky, Hugh Westlake, — Ogle, German Treton, Benjamin  
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 Munckton.

I forgot to mention that Mr. Hooke, the Duke's chaplain \*, was sent to London, to endeavour an insurrection there, but from whence or when, I know not; for it was kept very secret, and it was some time before I missed him; and that Major Manley's son came to Bridgwater from London the Saturday before the battle at Weston, and that he and his father went towards London that Saturday night, to endeavour a rising. I think that it was Sir Robert Peyton that the Duke talked of, for Chief in London.

NATH. WADE.

\* This gentleman, at different times, rank of Lieutenant-general. In 1708, he figured in very different characters. From an independent preacher, the Chaplain of Monmouth, and companion of his invasion; he was metamorphosed into a zealous partisan of King James; and having followed him into exile, became an officer in the French army, in which service he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-general. In 1708, he was sent by Lewis the Fourteenth, Plenipotentiary to the Jacobite party in Scotland; and the letters and memorials which passed during that negotiation, were published some years ago. — See also, Lockhart's Memoirs, page 197.

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## No. VI.

WILLIAM.  
1698.*Partition Treaty.*

[The public is indebted for the following letters from King William to Pensionary Heinsius, to that worthy and able Minister the Grefsiel Fagel, who is always ready and willing to assist the enquiries of his friends.

Translated  
from the  
Dutch.

Though the partition treaty (which proceeded originally from Lewis the Fourteenth) ended unfortunately, and displeased all parties, the disinterested and upright intentions of King William in promoting it, are sufficiently apparent from these papers. Strong sense, and an extensive view of the interests of Europe, particularly those of the countries he governed, are no less discernible, and will do honour to the memory of a Prince, who, with all his defects, deserves the veneration of every good Englishman.

Lord Bolingbroke has, in the second volume of his letters to Lord Cornbury, stated the difficulties, with which this project of a partition was attended, in a manner convincing in itself, and candid, indeed just, to King William's memory. To those pages the Editor begs leave to refer the reader.

With regard to the conduct of Lewis the Fourteenth, there is reason to think, from lights which our ancestors had not the benefit \* of, that when he proposed to Lord Portland, and, through Marechal Tallard, to King William, the idea of a partition, he was sincere, and meant to avoid a war, in the decline of his life; but finding the House of Austria obstinately averse to the project, and the Spaniards as obstinate in their inclinations to keep the

\* Mr. Torrey's Memoirs, and Harcourt's dispatches. The latter, MSS.

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1698.

monarchy entire ; the offer of so brilliant a succession to a grandson, was too hard for his good faith ; and perhaps no prince of ambition would have been able to resist the temptation.

If King William was guilty of any fault in the negotiation, it was the relying too little on the sentiments of his English ministry, and managing the treaty too much through private channels. However, the necessity of keeping the secret, and the fluctuating state of parties at that time, will furnish some apology for his conduct in that particular.]

*Extracts from King William's Letters, relative to the Partition Treaty. To Pensionary Heinsius.*

Kensington, December 24, 1697.  
January 3, 1698.

SINCE my last, I have received your letters of the 27th and 31st of December. What the French ambassadors have said to you, that something must be done by the Republic, France, and me, towards maintaining the peace, surprises me much ; and I am of opinion with you, that it relates to the guaranty between the Emperor, the empire, and us. The Earl of Portland will readily be able to get to the bottom of this affair in France ; and this is a further reason for hastening his departure as much as possible.

WILLIAM R.

Windfor, March 8-18, 1698.

I SEND you herewith, a letter I received yesterday evening, by a courier from the Earl of Portland ; you will judge of the great importance of the affair. I have writ to him, to keep this important negotiation on foot, and to try to bring the French to

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particulars, that one may then be the better able to judge what is possible to be done in this business. I beg you will write your sentiments on this important affair, to the Earl of Portland, by a courier, that it may be done with secrecy, for you know of what consequence it is. You will recollect the discourse we had on this subject at Loo, and I believe also at the Hague. It will be necessary you should write rather amply to the Earl of Portland, and send me a copy of the letter, for my information, and also return his to me, for you see I have not a copy of it.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

*Inclosure.*

**H**IER Messrs. de Pomponne & de Torcy me vinrent voir, et me dirent, que c'étoit par ordre du Roi Tres-Chretien, pour me dire, qu'il vouloit bien se servir de moi dans une chose de la plus grande importance, et qui demandoit le plus grand secret; qu'il me temoignoit avoir une entiere confiance en moi. Après que j'avois repondu comme je devois, Monf. de Pomponne dit que, comme les sentimens du Roi son Maitre étoient sinceres pour le maintien de la paix, et que l'on étoit entierement persuadé que ceux de V. M. étoient de même, il falloit songer à ce qui en pourroit causer l'interruption, pour s'entendre à la prévenir; que la mort du Roi d'Espagne, qui pourroit survenir inopinément, et laquelle rameneroit les mêmes troubles, dont nous venions de sortir, étoit de cette nature, que le Roi T. Chr. souhaitoit d'entrer avec V. M. dans les liaisons qui pourroient prévenir de si grands maux; que l'Espagne tombant entre les mains de l'Empereur, il se pourroit rendre maitre de toute l'Italie, et si absolu dans l'Empire, que nous avons tout lieu de craindre sa trop grande force; que pour cet effet, le Roi T. Chr. souhaitoit d'entrer en concert avec V. M. touchant la dite succession, & souhaitoit de savoir si elle



WILLIAM.  
1698.

elle inclinoit, et quelles conditions & suretés elle voudroit pour entrer. Je lui repondis, que j'étois surpris de la proposition qu'il me faisoit, quoique je ne pouvois pas manquer de considerer la mort du Roi d'Espagne, comme une chose qui nous rejettoit indubitablement dans la guerre; que cependant l'on regardoit cela comme un mal inévitable, et que l'on espéroit seulement que cela n'arriveroit pas sitôt; que je voyois l'interet de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande de s'opposer à un accommodement, tant à l'égard de la force de mer, que du commerce par tout le monde; que je ne voyois pas, comment il étoit possible que V. M. peut faire aucune réponse, qu'en general, sur une telle proposition, à moins que l'on ne me dit les sentimens du Roi T. Chr. à l'égard des particularités de ce qu'il vouloit proposer. Il me repondit, qu'il ne pouvoit pas entrer dans des particularités, tant que l'on ne savoit pas vos sentimens en general, et qu'alors même il falloit savoir d'elle ce qu'elle jugeroit convenable, pour l'interet & la sureté des deux nations. Je dis, que j'étois sur, quand j'écrivois à V. M. dans les termes generaux, dans lesquels il me parloit, que je ne pouvois attendre tout au mieux d'autre réponse, sinon qu'elle vouloit bien écouter ce qu'on lui proposoit. Et comme je vis enfin, que je ne pouvois pas en tirer davantage, je lui dis, comme par discours, mes sentimens particuliers, et tout ce que je croiois qui pourroit être contre notre intérêt; ce que je ne répéterai pas, pour éviter la longueur de ma lettre. A quoi il me répondit que, pour ce qui étoit des Pais-bas, l'on en conviendrait aisément, de maniere que l'on en seroit satisfait, comme V. M. le souhaiteroit; que pour l'Espagne même, l'on donneroit des suretés suffisantes, qu'elle ne viendrait jamais sous la domination d'un même Roi avec la France; mais pour les Indes, ni la sureté du commerce de la Méditerranée, sur lesquelles deux choses je touchai beaucoup, il ne me répondit rien, demandant seulement que je voulusse rendre compte à V. M. de ce qu'il m'avoit proposé et déclaré des sentimens du Roi son maître,

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Paris,  
le 15 Mars 1698.

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WILLIAM.  
1698.

tre, et d'être informé des vôtres, sire. Je n'ai pas voulu dire rien, qui pouvoit aucunement faire juger que ce fussent les intentions de V. M. particulièrement, quand on ne sauroit que si peu ou point. C'est pourquoi j'attendrai pour savoir la volonté de V. M. sur la chose même, & la conduite qu'elle veut que je tienné; et cependant, si j'en ai l'occasion, je parlerai encore en discours à Monsieur de Pomponne, pour l'engager à lui faire découvrir ses sentimens un peu plus. Je supplie V. M. de pardonner les fautes de ma lettre, qui n'est pas d'une nature à la faire voir à ame qui vive de mes gens, et que j'ai à peine le tems de relire, bien moins d'en tirer les minutes, parceque M. le Dauphin m'a envoyé chercher pour aller tout presentement à la chasse avec lui, ce que je n'ai pas voulu excuser, ni ne puis remettre plus tard. Je m'en vais monter en carrosse, pour aller à Meudon. Le Comte de Tallard part aujourd'hui; je crois que l'on a attendu exprès si longtems à me parler de ceci, pour se pouvoir servir de lui dans cette affaire, en cas que l'on ne se trouve pas satisfait de moi; quoique la roideur que j'ai marqué sur toutes les difficultés que l'on m'a faites, soit approuvée de tout le monde à la cour, et que l'on rejette toute la faute sur les introduceurs que M. meme traite d'ignorans et d'impertinens, l'on juge peut-être de moi, que je ne me laisserai pas mener dans les choses, où mon peu de tems me peut faire voir, que je ne trouverai pas le service de V. M. ni l'interets des deux nations. Je la supplie de croire, que j'esuis toujours à elle avec le meme zele & respect.

Paris,  
le 15 Mars 1698.

PORTLAND.

Vol. II.

X x

WILLI  
1698.

Kensington, March 15-25, 1698.

**I** DID not write to you last post for want of matter. I have since received your letter of the 18th instant, and thereby learn with great sorrow the King of Spain's indisposition. Should he chance to die now, the accident could never happen at a more unlucky conjuncture. You will have learnt by my former letter the business in which the Earl of Portland is concerned, and I am impatient for your remarks upon it. Should this death take place soon, there is nothing to be expected from this negotiation. The invincible difficulties that appear in the thing itself; the unprepared state the allies are in to begin a war; and the bad situation of Spain, make me shudder when I consider the affair; for certainly France is in a condition to take possession of that monarchy, before we shall be able to concert measures to oppose it. The constitution here is such, that I shall be able to contribute little towards the land-forces, but I may do something towards the Marine; for the people here will, I believe, be inclinable to it, though we shall have great want of money. I am of your opinion, that all possible measures should be taken with the allies, to guard against so unforeseen an accident, but it ought to be done with precaution, on account of France; and I do not know but it would be proper at this time, to assemble a kind of Congress at the Hague again; or it might be better to negotiate this matter at Vienna, though here I see great difficulties on account of the distance: however, I think it will be the properest place, and in that case, expert ministers must be sent thither, as also to Madrid. It will also be necessary to give encouragement on all sides to remain armed. I wish I could do so too; but I see little appearance of it.

WILLIAM R.

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WILLIAM.  
1698.Windſor, April 1st,  
March 21st, 1698.

I DID not write to you laſt poſt for want of matter. I have ſince received your letters of the 21ſt and 25th of March, together with a copy of the letter you have written to the Earl of Portland; in which I think you have explained this important matter to him; and have certainly ſaid every thing that can be of any conſideration. It remains now to be ſeen whether the French will proceed to particulars, which I doubt, and ſtill more how it will be poſſible to find means to bring this important negociation to a good concluſion; for our intereſts are ſo different, that I ſcarce ſee a poſſibility of reconciling them. Beſides, the greateſt hardship that appears to me in this buſineſs, is, the little reliance to be made on engagements with France; and her power will be thereby ſo much the more conſiderable, that ſhe will be at liberty to pay juſt as much regard to the treaties as may ſuit her convenience, of which we have had but too much experience. On the other hand, I do not ſee a poſſibility of preventing France from putting herſelf in immediate poſſeſſion of the monarchy of Spain, in caſe the King ſhould happen to die ſoon. However, nothing elſe can be done than to take all thoſe meaſures you mention; and principally we muſt labour to bring the Emperor and the Eleſtor of Bavaria to an agreement with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, otherwiſe it will be impoſſible for us to take meaſures right. What Bonrepos has ſaid to you relative to the marine in France, and of their being willing to engage not to equip, in caſe England and Holland did the ſame, is mere ſpeculation. For our part, we ſhall do nothing extraordinary, nor other than is uſual in time of peace, viz. ſend a ſmall ſquadron into the Mediterranean, and one to the Weſt Indies. I know of no equipment in Holland, and he muſt know the ſame; ſo that France can form no pretext of equipment, which you may take an opportunity to inſinuate to Bonrepos. It would

X x 2

not,

WILLIAM.  
1698.

not, however, be improper for Holland to be so far prepared as to be able to equip suddenly in case of need. What Lelienroth has communicated to you of Sweden's intention to renew the treaty with France, does not please me much, though I had expected it. It is certain, that Crown is taking measures with both parties, in order to remain, as it were, neuter. The proposition you have made Straetman, with regard to the accommodation in the affair of Schonenberg, is much to my mind; I shall talk in the same strain to Aversberg.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, April 8th,  
March 29th, 1698.

**I** RECEIVED your letter of last Friday so late, that I was not then able to answer it. Since then, yours of the 1st and 4th of April are come to hand. I find your thoughts entirely occupied with the great storm which seems to hang over our heads by the likelihood of the King of Spain's death. I think you perfectly comprehend this affair, and I should conform myself also thereto. I only wish my power was such as that I could properly second your hearty sentiments. As far as I can penetrate into the opinions of most people here, there seems so great an aversion to fall again into a war at present, that, should France make any kind of plausible proposals of accommodation, they will here be inclined to accept them, without considering much the security of them; so that, in case a war is to be the upshot of the business, I must take my measures so as to bring this nation insensibly into it. What I can do at present is, to augment the squadron I had destined for the Mediterranean, and hasten its departure as much as possible. I am also resolved, besides the ships I had destined for the West Indies, to cause those to remain till further orders, that are there; which will make a considerable  
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squadron, of which I will send you a list. I have also thoughts of sending four or five regiments to Jamaica, under pretence of defending the plantations in those parts. I hope to find money for it, which is the grand difficulty of all. These men being there at hand, you will easily judge, that, in case of necessity, they may make themselves masters of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, without France's being able to hinder them. I believe also I shall be able, at least for some time, to put off any further reduction of troops. This is the utmost it will be in my power to do in the present conjuncture, the rest must be done by the States and other allies; and it is certain that the Republic must begin and lead the dance. In case this misfortune should happen soon, we must not flatter ourselves that France will give us the least time to interpose as mediators or otherwise, in order to accommodate the claimants; nor do I believe that any thing further will come than what has already been offered to the Earl of Portland, for that agrees with Bonrepos's language; and as Palmquist is acquainted with the affair, the negociation will not long remain secret; nor do I believe the French desire it should, but mean by their offers to blind people, both here and in Holland, and to gain, by a plausible pretext, those who fear a war, rather to accept whatever conditions should be offered, than to come to one. And in this I am as apprehensive for the Amsterdammers, as I am for the House of Commons here. It were to be wished, that some measures could be taken with the northern Crowns on this occasion; but I see little probability of it, particularly with Sweden. I intend, however, to speak with the Ambassador on the subject. We must also see what is to be expected from Portugal, who is so greatly interested. It will be necessary to hasten Mr. Hop's journey to Vienna. I am embarrassed whom to send thither, but were Hop there, it would be enough for the present.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

Kensington, April 1st-11th, 1698.

LAST Tuesday's post is not yet arrived; we may probably have it to-morrow, the wind having been favourable yesterday. I find people begin here more and more to fear the death of the King of Spain, being persuaded it will draw on a war; to which they, in that case, seem resolved; but would contribute little or nothing except to the marine, and leave the war by land to the Republic and the other allies, which they would not carry through; though, on the other hand, I see no likelihood of bringing the Parliament to give money sufficient to keep so considerable a body of troops in the Spanish Netherlands as I had the last war: and without that I see no possibility of defending them. Count Tallard has had a private audience of me to-day, and made the same propositions Pomponne and Torcy have done to the Earl of Portland, of which you are undoubtedly informed. I told him the affair was of too delicate and important a nature to be able to give any answer to these propositions, or for me to make any, as he desired, seeing that I and the Republic are in alliance with the Princes interested in the succession; but that I was willing to enter into a *discussion* with him, on the subject, without engaging for any thing. We had therefore a very long conversation on this important matter, and much reasoning on both sides; and I gave to understand, that I foresaw no accommodation, unless at least all the Spanish possessions in Italy should be ceded to the Emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria, not in the condition they now are, but a stronger and greater barrier, which might be discussed hereafter; for us, some ports in the Mediterranean, and in the West Indies, for the security of our commerce, and a regulation for the commerce of both nations. This is in brief what passed in the conversation, of which he will not fail to make a report; and I have no doubt but he will speak to me farther. I have acquainted the Earl of Portland with

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WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Newmarket, April 6-16th, 1698.

I CAME here last Monday evening to divert myself for ten or twelve days. I received your letter of the 8th before I left Kensington, and to-day that of the 11th instant. You will have seen, by my preceding letter what I shall be able to do, in case of the sudden death of the King of Spain, to which I know nothing to add. I see Bonrepos is for proceeding with you with much  *finesse* , as is his way, but Tallard has spoken much plainer to me, of which I gave you a brief account in my last. I do not doubt but I shall hear further from him at my return to Kensington, and in a few days from the Earl of Portland, from whom I yesterday received a letter dated the 9th, the day after his return from paying a visit to the Prince of Vaudemont, on his passage through France; he therefore had not yet seen any of the Ministers, but expected to do it the next day, so that I hourly expect letters from his Excellency; though I am very much persuaded that the French will not explain themselves further, or make other propositions than those they have made, and will not at all relish the conversation I had with Tallard, and consequently I look upon this negociation as nearly at an end. As the affair now stands, I think it lucky that we have no further engagement with the Emperor about the succession; and that it is questionable whether the Grand Alliance subsists or not; for I am much afraid that, in case the King of Spain should now happen to die suddenly, we should be obliged to come to an accommodation; as I do not see how, in the present situation, we should soon be able to put ourselves in a condition to withstand the too great power of France.

I am

WILLIAM.  
1698.

I am much pleased with the measures you think may and ought now to be taken, and wish they may be set about; as on my side I shall do. But I think we should be very cautious about engaging ourselves further with the Emperor, for he is so much interested in this affair, that it will always depend upon us to engage ourselves just so far as the occasion and our interest shall require; and should we do it before-hand, by a formal convention or treaty, we should find our hands so bound as to be obliged to observe it implicitly, without any consideration to our situation or interest at the time.

WILLIAM R.

Newmarket, April 13th-23d, 1698.

ACCORDING to the last letters I have received here from the Earl of Portland of the 17th instant, he had an audience of the King of France, who, being informed of the discourse I had had with Tallard, gave to understand, that it would be reasonable to satisfy the Emperor in Italy, and to increase the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands. This is farther than I thought the French would have advanced at first. The Earl of Portland was to have another audience the next day, and thought he should then be able to write more particulars, which I hourly expect. Count Tallard is also come hither to-day, probably to speak with me, of which I will inform you by the next post.

WILLIAM R.

Since I wrote the above, Count Tallard has been with me, and after a long preface said that, in consequence of what he had written to his Court, relative to the conversation he had had with me, he had received orders to propose two alternatives, towards a treaty or alliance, to be entered into in case of the King of Spain's death.

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WILLIAM.  
1693.

The one, that the Elector of Bavaria's son should succeed to the kingdom of Spain, with the West Indies and the Spanish Netherlands in their present condition, except the Dutchy of Luxembourg which should be granted to France; the Emperor should have the Milanese, and one of the Dauphin's sons the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the islands. The other, Spain and the West Indies to one of the Dauphin's sons; the kingdom of Naples, Scilly and the islands to the Emperor; the Milanese to the Duke of Savoy, and the Spanish Netherlands, in their present condition, to the Elector of Bavaria's son; and with this alternative we might expect some ports in the Mediterranean sea, and also some islands in the West Indies, but nothing upon the continent; saying this by way of discourse; and that we must not expect France would ever consent to any augmentation of the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands. To all this I answered, that as it was an affair of great importance and delicacy, he must not think it strange that I was not prepared to give him an answer; which, he said, he could very well conceive, and did not expect any. I insinuated, but by way of discourse only, how necessary it was for our security that the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands should be augmented, but I was not able to make any farther progress. I also laughed with him at the idea of giving the Milanese to the Duke of Savoy. I think that, if this alternative is accepted, the French will not remain firm to it. I confess I had no idea they would have advanced so far, nor have offered so much in these times. You will be so good as cast your thoughts upon this important negotiation; and, as soon as you can, let me know your sentiments how I should act further. I have no doubt but the same proposals have been made to the Earl of Portland, but they will probably have given time to Count Tallard to communicate them to me first; I therefore expect letters from the Earl of Portland every hour.

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WILLIAM.  
1698.

Newmarket, April 15-25th, 1698.

**BY** the last post I wrote you what had passed between Count Tallard and me. I have since received letters from the Earl of Portland of the 20th, together with this memorial, containing the two alternatives, which the King of France read over in his cabinet, and afterwards being read by Messieurs Pomponne and Torcy, was copied word for word. You will see it to be the very same Count Tallard had said to me, as the King of France told the Earl of Portland he had been ordered to do. I shall expect your sentiments, with great impatience, how I ought to proceed, and what answer to give. I think much time ought not to be lost in this negociation; for we should be greatly embarrassed, in case the King of Spain should die suddenly. It is certain that the Emperor is not to be moved by persuasion to accept either of these alternatives, so that he must be compelled. That which constitutes a French Prince King of Spain, is certainly the most advantageous to him; and I should think France would agree to his having also the Milanese, instead of the Duke of Savoy. But the other, of acquiring the Milanese alone, out of all the Spanish succession, will hardly be accepted. In my opinion, the alternative in favour of the Prince of Bavaria, is the best adapted to the general interest of Europe; but the cession of the Dutchy of Luxembourg is extremely prejudicial to our security; and France has chiefly introduced it into this alternative, I think, to incline us to the other; in which I believe also we should find our account in the article of commerce. For, when I told Tallard we must have some ports in the Mediterranean, and named Port Mahon, Oran and Ceuta; he said, he had no particular orders to propose any, but thought expedients might be found, as also in the West Indies, to give us some port in the islands, but not upon the continent, for in that case we should at once become masters of that commerce. And though he said there was no probability whatever of extending and augmenting

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augmenting the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, yet I should still hope something might be stipulated about it, in case the alternative which gives Spain to the Dauphin's son be accepted. I confess, that, every thing considered, it is very questionable which alternative to chuse, and to negotiate further thereon; but this is beyond a doubt, that when these offers of France are public in England and Holland, it will be difficult to get them to consent to a war, in case the King of Spain should happen to die now; so that measures must be taken in consequence. As for the Elector of Bavaria, I think he may be brought to any thing, notwithstanding the one alternative is so much more advantageous for him and his son, than the other.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, April 19-20th, 1698.

I SHALL say nothing to you at present about the great affair of the Spanish succession, as I wait with impatience for your answer to my letters from Newmarket; by which I informed you of the proposals Count Tallard made me, as was also done to the Earl of Portland in France. I have learnt nothing more on this subject since, nor received any further letters from France. I must, however, just say, that you must not expect I can agree to any other measures, or contribute any thing beyond what I mentioned in my last. For, agreeably to this constitution, it is impossible to get the Parliament to consent to grant any money on an uncertainty, or for a future time; so that I can do nothing relative to that; and God knows whether I shall not be obliged to reduce more troops, conformably to the first idea of Parliament. Should this great negoci-

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WILLIAM.  
1698.

ation go forward, I think Mr. Hop's instructions must be upon quite another footing than at first.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, April 22d, 1698.  
May 2d,

**L**AST Tuesday's letters from Holland are not yet arrived. I expect them with great impatience, and hope to receive your answers to my letters from Newmarket, concerning the great affair of the Spanish succession, about which I have learnt nothing further; probably they wait in France for my answer. Since the news came that the King of Spain is better, people here begin to lay aside their fears again, and think there is nothing more to be apprehended. It is inconceivable the humour of this nation, and how little certain measures can be taken with them.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, April 24th, 1698.  
May 6th,

**Y**ESTERDAY, and the day before, I received your letters of April 29th, and May 2d. I think you reason very well about the great and delicate negociation of the Spanish succession. I intend to speak to Count Tallard about it to-morrow or after-to-morrow, in conformity to your sentiments; and I hope to receive letters from the Earl of Portland in the interim. I really think France will not be so bent upon the form, but will not recede from insisting on our engaging ourselves positively with them; which appears to be very natural; for without that, they cannot engage themselves with us. It will be a very difficult and delicate business how to communicate this negociation to the Emperor, as it is known before-hand, that  
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he will never accede to it, nor accept either of the alternatives, particularly the one; and moreover, he will pretend we are already engaged to him. So that it merits reflexion whether one ought not to be almost agreed with France about the conditions, before it be communicated to the Emperor; as I do not know why it should be done sooner, being assured the Emperor will not accede, however it may be. And besides, it may be that France would agree to give us better conditions before, than after it is communicated to the Emperor; for, in the latter case it may be, that they will make it a point of honour not to give way in any thing, as you know they have done upon all occasions. It is certain, that whatever method we adopt in this business, we shall exasperate the Emperor to the utmost; and must look upon him in future as an enemy, if we make any agreement or convention with France whatever, about the Spanish succession. With respect to the conditions thereof, I am fully persuaded France covets that alternative, by which a son of the Dauphin is to have Spain and the West Indies, and will lean towards that, when we get farther into the negotiation, and endeavour to make the other inadmissible, though it is certainly the most advantageous for the tranquillity of Europe. It will be necessary that you should inform yourself underhand, of the importance of the commerce of the Republic, as well in the Mediterranean as in the West Indies. I shall do the same here; but I do not intend to communicate this negotiation to any one till the Earl of Portland's return; and then perhaps only after the breaking up of the Parliament. My Ambassador Williamson, will receive orders by this post to conclude with Lelienroth, in concert with you, conformably to what you transmitted to me. I find Count Bonde has some knowledge of it, and is discontented, that this negotiation does not pass through his hands here.

WILLIAM.  
1693.

WILLIAM R.



WILLIAM.  
1698.

Windſor, May 9th, April 29th, 1698.

**Y**ESTERDAY, before I left Kenſington, I had a long con-  
verſation with Count Tallard; in which I told him, I had ma-  
turely conſidered the propoſals he had made me; and, on account  
of the great deſire I had to ſee the peace of Europe preſerved, with-  
out aſſuming to myſelf to judge of another's right, I thought there  
were materials in the ſaid propoſals to negotiate upon; but that I  
was greatly embarrassed as to the form. For I did not think it decent  
to do it without a previous communication to the Emperor, having  
been his ally ſo long. And I aſked him, Whether he had any or-  
ders about that, or if he knew his Maſter's intentions? He ſaid, he  
did not, but would write about it: that, for his part, he did not ſee  
to what purpoſe a previous communication ſhould be made, being  
well aſſured it would not be accepted, but would diſguſt that Court.  
I replied, It was to be done, however, one time or other. He  
thought it would be beſt when we were agreed about the conditions,  
or to keep it ſecret till the caſe happened, which I think is impoſ-  
ſible. Reaſoning further on the ſubject, I ſaid I thought the alter-  
native of the electoral Prince of Bavaria's having Spain, the Weſt  
Indies, and the Netherlands, would beſt ſuit us, but that we ſhould  
never conſent to diſmembering the Dutchy of Luxembourg from it,  
but that it ſhould remain for a barrier as at preſent (to which he  
ſaid little) but that, as the Emperor was only to have the Mila-  
neſe by this alternative, I thought this portion too ſmall, and that  
ſomething more muſt be added. He ſaid, he did not ſee it was.  
With reſpect to the other alternative, in caſe it took place, I men-  
tioned our having ſome places of ſecurity in the Mediterranean and  
the Weſt Indies, and the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands aug-  
mented and made better, becauſe nothing could in this caſe come  
from Spain for the defence of that country; and that the Milaneſe  
ſhould go to the Emperor, and not to the Duke of Savoy. He did

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not enter into much debate, saying he did not know which of these alternatives it was the King his Master's intention to prefer, but in the way I had stated it, the first was certainly more preferable; namely, that Spain should go to the house of Bavaria. In the whole of his discourse he shewed great eagerness to bring this negociation to an end; and concluded with saying, he would acquaint his Master by a courier of what had passed, and would communicate to me his answer. I told him, I had hitherto communicated this affair to you only. I have, to my great astonishment, received no letters from the Earl of Portland since April 25th; and last Tuesday's letters from Holland are not yet arrived.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Windsor, May 3d-13th, 1698.

BY last Tuesday's post, I wrote you the conversation I had had with Count Tallard. I have since received your letters of the 6th and 9th instant. I do not differ much from your sentiments about that important business. It will be very difficult to manage this negociation like the secret one at the making of the peace, as I can scarce believe that France will agree to that. We shall soon see, when Count Tallard receives an answer. I was wishing you would draw up a sketch of a convention, in form of articles, in case we should come to an agreement with France about that great work; and though it seems somewhat premature, yet there is no harm in it, and it might probably give one some *eclaircissement*.

I will send full powers to my Ambassador Williamson; in the mean time, however, he may conclude and sign the convention with Lelienroth; and though in itself it is not much, yet I think it is no bad step to treat with Sweden. I think the Republic should not be too complaisant to France on the subject of commerce, particularly

WILLIAM.  
1698.

cularly in what is stipulated by the treaty of peace; but it merits consideration whether we should immediately agree to the payment of their merchandise; though I am inclined to think with you, that we should in some degree. I find also, by the Earl of Portland's letters, that he is of opinion the Republic should remain firm by the treaty, of which probably Nieuport has informed you.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, May 6-16th, 1698.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 13th, and much approve the manner and form you think most proper to proceed in, in this important negociation; and I will make use of it when Count Tallard speaks to me again on the subject, which will probably be in a few days, when he has received an answer from his Court.

I have nothing further to add at present, and shall wait to learn, by the next post, what has been concluded with Lelienroth.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, May 10th-20th, 1698.

YESTERDAY, I received your's of the 16th. I have not hitherto any further answer from Count Tallard, nor any letter from the Earl of Portland, at which I wonder much. I begin to suspect that the French are for training on this important negociation. So long as it is protracted on one side or the other, it will not, in my opinion, be advisable that the Elector of Bavaria should send any body to Vienna, though the Imperialists would be glad of it at present, as Count Aversberg has told me, and requested I would co-

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operate towards it. He told me, at the same time, there were now assurances from Spain, that the King's will was in favour of the Arch-Duke, and that promise had been made to old Count Harrach, to give him an authentic copy of it, to bring with him to the Emperor; which is directly contrary to what the Elector of Bavaria thinks he is assured of, that the will is in favour of his son. I think little reliance is to be had on either; but this is certain, that as long as this negotiation is training on with France, it is better there should be no convention made between the Emperor and Bavaria, relative to the succession.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, May 13-23d, 1698.

**Y**ESTERDAY, Count Tallard had a long audience of me, and proposed a new alternative, viz. that the Spanish Netherlands should be ceded to the Emperor or the Arch-Duke, together with the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; the Milanese to the Elector of Bavaria's son; and Spain and the Indies, to one of the Dauphin's sons, as in the preceding one. I answered him, that this proposal pleased me less than the former, and I did not think it our interest to have the Emperor for a neighbour. He thereupon said, the Emperor might have the Milanese, and the Elector of Bavaria's son the Spanish Netherlands; but protested that this proposal was merely his own, and that he had no orders for it. We then got into a long reasoning upon the whole business, which would be too long to relate, and is not material; but I concluded with saying, that I thought there would be less difficulty on our side, in agreeing on that alternative, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands, were to come to the Elector of Bavaria's son, than to any other; for the principal difference appeared to me to be, whe-

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WILLIAM.  
1638.

ther the Duchy of Luxembourg should be dismembered, to which we could never agree; and that the other alternative would bring us into infinite difficulties how to secure our commerce in the Mediterranean and the West Indies. He extolled much the importance of Luxembourg for France (which I could easily refute) and insisted that the Dauphin's portion, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, was too small. I replied, That it was so considerable, when added to the great power of France, that it might make the whole world tremble; and, in short, I persisted in what I had said, in the preceding audience, of which I have given you an account. With regard to the form, we both agreed it was too early to inform the Imperial court of this negociation, till we were agreed about the principal conditions. He said, he would give the King his master a suitable account of our conversation, and communicate to me his answer. I had received letters the preceding evening from the Earl of Portland, who had had a private audience of the King of France; who had said the very same as Count Tallard, and read over the letter he meant to write him, and notified his intention to offer the King of Spain assistance for Oran and Ceuta, in ships, galleys or troops; and that he gave us information of it, in order that we might take no umbrage, nor be alarmed; for he had no other intention, than to prevent these places from falling into the hands of the Moors. I therefore told Count Tallard, I could not help saying, this offer would certainly alarm us, but I hoped this assistance was not intended to be forced upon the Spaniards; he said, it was not. I replied, That I scarce believed Spain would accept these offers. This circumstance appears suspicious, and merits reflection, what further measures it may be necessary to take.

WILLIAM R.

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WILLIAM.  
698.

Kensington, May 17-27th, 1698.

**N**OTHING has happened since my last, relative to the great work of the negociation concerning the succession. I think the regulating and securing of the commerce, as well in the Mediterranean as in the West Indies, will be of infinite difficulty; and I find myself but little instructed in what Secretary de Wilde has said to you on this matter; and even were one agreed with France about it, I do not well see how to reconcile the interests of England and the Republic, which will be no small difficulty.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, June 3, 1698.  
May 24,

**I** DID not write to you by the last post for want of matter; I have since received your's of the 26th and 30th of May. I will not write much at present concerning the great work of the negociation, as Count Tallard has asked a private audience of me for to-morrow, having received answers to his last letters; so that, by next post, I shall be able to inform you what he says to me; it will therefore be of no use to write at present. I think Mr. Hop ought not to go to Vienna till we can see a little further into this negociation; and some pretext may easily be found to detain him, without letting it appear that it is done purposely; for that ought by no means to be known or believed. I am afraid the alliance between France and Sweden, will be concluded before Lelienroth gets to Sweden. I have little expectation that the alliance with Denmark will go forward.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAMS  
1698.

Kenfington, May 27, 1698.  
June 6,

**A**GREEABLY to what I wrote you in my last, Count Tallard was with me the following day. Not to make a long recital of our conversation, he read over to me the annexed memorial; and after some reasoning upon it, I told him it was impossible for me to retain the three alternatives in my memory, and desired to be permitted to copy the memorial. He thereupon gave it me, but protested he had no orders for it, and desired I would use it with discretion, and not look upon it as a proposition in writing. I did not think it proper to enter into much reasoning with him for that time, as they were new proposals; and that it was reasonable, in an affair of that importance, to take time to revolve the matter. And besides, I told him I should communicate it to you; for in an affair of that nature I would do nothing without communicating and advising with the first ministers in Holland, which he approved, and does not expect an answer till I shall have received one from you. Though I told him I would not enter into any debate about the matter, yet I shewed him I persisted in my former sentiments of treating upon that alternative, by which Spain was to come to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and gave to understand that the pretensions about St. Sebastian appeared very strange to me; and that Navarre being in the possession of France, I did not see but that they might make themselves masters of Spain whenever they pleased. That I did not know what were the towns and places upon the coast of Tuscany, which I really do not; and he was obliged to own that he was also uninformed about them. You will be able to inform yourself about this matter, and let me know soon and distinctly your sentiments upon it. Count Tallard pressed very much on the necessity of making a speedy end of this negotiation, for fear the King of Spain should happen to die, and every thing get into confusion; and

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that it would then be impossible to negotiate. He also wished to insinuate that we must not expect more favourable conditions than what he had now proposed. I hope the Earl of Portland will be here against the time I receive your answer, from whom I shall certainly learn what we have to expect, and shall then be more able to take my measures. I have this day received your's of the 2d of June, together with a plan of articles for the treaty, which I have not time to answer at present; besides it requires no great haste.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, June 21, 1698.  
July 1,

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 24th and 27th of June. I shall say very little to you upon the subject at present, as the Earl of Portland has undertaken to write to you upon the great affair, to which I refer you; and will write my thoughts about Mr. Hop's instructions, to you by the next post.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, June 24, 1698.  
July 3,

I HAVE this day received your letter of July the 1st. I think the interview you propose to have with Mr. Dykvelt, at Moerdyk, will be of use, in taking measures against an unexpected accident; and you consider very justly that they must be such as are not adverse to the great negotiation we have now in hand; concerning which, the Earl of Portland will inform you circumstantially of what has passed between Count Tallard and me. It seems as if the French rather drew back than advanced; so that I cannot yet judge what will

WILLIAM.  
1698.

will be the issue. I know well that uncertainty does us no service, but hinders us from taking firm measures. I think it will not be amiss that Mr. Hop set out for Vienna; but it is impossible to give him other instructions than what you mention in your letter of June the 24th; for to engage ourselves at once with that court, before we see the event of this great negociation, must not be done.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, July 5-15th, 1698.

**A**T length I have this day prorogued the Parliament to the 2d of August, and intend to dissolve it by proclamation the day after to-morrow, and in a few days to call a new one. This has been an intolerably long session, very embarrassing and difficult, and had taken an unfavourable turn at the beginning; but, God be thanked, it has ended better than I could have hoped. I can now be certain, with God's help, of setting out in a fortnight at latest.

Since my last, I have received your's of the 8th and 11th of this month, and I think you have answered very well to every thing Mr. Dykvelt proposed. I should, by no means, be of opinion that Luxembourg should be transferred to any Prince, for the reasons you alledge, which are very valid. It would also be very prejudicial to the great negociation, of which I shall be able to give you more lights by the next post, as Count Tallard is to have an audience of me to-morrow, at his request; having received an answer from his court about what passed in the last. I agree with you at once, in the arguments you make use of, in your's of the 8th, touching this matter, and will regulate myself accordingly, as much as possible. The project Mr. Dykvelt spoke to you about, of erecting a kind of council or junto, at Brussels (at which should assist somebody from  
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the Republic; and we ought to know be the authority of in it; on which

**I** HAVE been few words, the day with Count no new proposals tended chiefly to were of small importance Dauphin's right former proposals court. I begin particularly since which you must raises me not a

**C**OUNT T made me full inform you; and necessary I should therefore desire ing, in order to

the Republic; and somebody from me) would please me much; but we ought to know what value our votes would have; what would be the authority of this council; and what subjects should be treated of in it; on which points Mr. Dykvelt should get further lights.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, July 8-18th, 1693.

I HAVE been so busy to-day that I have only time to say, in a few words, that in the conversation I had the day before yesterday with Count Tallard, he told me he had received orders to make no new proposals, but to insist upon the former; and his language tended chiefly to insinuate that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were of small importance to France, and too little a portion for the Dauphin's right of succession. I also persisted, on my part, in my former proposals; and he has undertaken to write again to his court. I begin to doubt much of the success of this negotiation, particularly since the news arrived of the King of Spain's relapse; of which you must have been circumstantially informed; and it embarrasses me not a little.

WILLIAM R.

Lee, August 10th, 1698.

COUNT TALLARD has been here this morning, and has made me further proposals, of which the Earl of Portland will inform you; and as I think they come near to the point, it will be necessary I should confer with you thereon, as soon as possible: I therefore desire you will set out from the Hague to-morrow evening, in order to be here early on Tuesday evening; and it will be necessary

WILLIAM.  
1698.

necessary to bring Mr. Dykvelt with you. I do not know whether he is still at the Hague, or at Utrecht; if at the latter, you can take him up *en passant*.

I have this instant received your letter of yesterday. I should not think it necessary for Mr. Hop, to call at the court of Brandenburg, on his road to Vienna; and much less so, that I should write to Mr. Barfois, at present, by Mr. Dieft.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, August 14-24th, 1698.

**I** HAVE received your letters of the 19th and 22d instant. The Earl of Portland will give you an account of what has passed with Count Tallard, and proposes going to the Hague on Tuesday or Wednesday, in order to talk over the affair with you, and to adjust every thing as much as possible. I have sent Robinson full powers to treat with Sweden, if necessary; but I have little hopes of it.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 14th, 1698.

**I** HAVE received your letters of the 11th and 12th instant, and see that you have brought this great work into the assembly of the States of Holland, and I have no hopes that it will remain a secret long, which it ought to have done; and we should certainly have been able to direct the work with more facility and less blame, at Vienna than at Madrid. It will cause an amazing emotion when it becomes public, which I now think will be inevitable, though we must

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VOL. II.

must still try to keep it as secret as possible. The Earl of Portland will inform you of my sentiments about the form of signing the treaty, and what else relates to it. I hope to confer with you here this day se'enight, upon these affairs, more at large. I am entirely of your sentiment, that we ought to stipulate, with respect to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, whatever we judge most tending to our convenience and advantage; and I should be glad to know your thoughts about these particulars. It will be necessary to inform Mr. Dykvelt of it, in order to treat upon it; for it ought also to be concluded when the treaty with France comes to be ratified.

WILLIAM.  
1698.

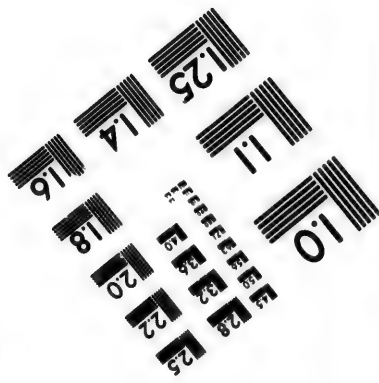
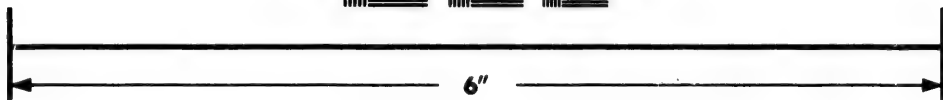
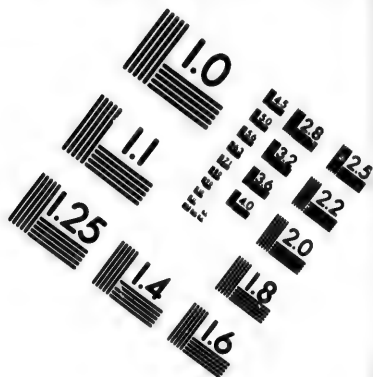
WILLIAM R.

Loo, October 14. 24th, 1698.

I RETURNED hither this night in good health. I did not write to you during my journey, having nothing to say, and your letters requiring no answer; the last is dated the 21st instant, which I received at Lingen. It will give me great pleasure, if the treaty with France can yet be kept secret; but I know not if she has any further meaning by it, for I have reason to doubt her good faith, of which I shall acquaint you further; and I desire, if business will permit it, that you will set out from the Hague, Sunday or Monday next, in order to be here the day following; as it is necessary I should discourse with you upon this important matter, and some others. Notwithstanding the suspicion I have, I think the ratification of the treaty should however, be exchanged, that nothing may be wanting on our side. If you are of my sentiment, the sooner it is done the better.

WILLIAM R.





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WILLIAM.  
1698.

Kennington, December 16-26th, 1698.

**T**HIS day I have received your's of the 19th. I cannot believe that what Quiros has told you is true, that they are perfectly acquainted in Spain with the treaty concluded with France; the Earl of Portland will inform you by this post, of the dispatches I received yesterday from my Lord Jersey. I believe Count Tallard will be here in a few days, and I long impatiently to learn what he brings with him; about which I am apprehensive, considering the situation of affairs every where.

WILLIAM R.

Kennington, December 26-30th, 1698.

**S**INCE my last, I have received your's of the 19th instant, by which I learn with pleasure, that every thing is gone off so well in the assembly of Holland. The Earl of Portland will inform you, by this post, of what Count Tallard brings with him, to which I refer you. I am so chagrined at what passes in the lower house with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foresee that I shall be obliged to come to resolutions of extremity\*, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I had thought. It is impossible for me to enter into particulars at present; and affairs are so changeable here, that one can rely certainly upon nothing, till it is done.

WILLIAM R.

\* This alludes to the resolution he had taken to vest the government here in Commissioners, and depart for Holland. Lord Somers told the King upon it, that before his Majesty made that declaration to Parliament, he should humbly desire to resign the Great Seal; he had received it from him as his sovereign, and begged to return it to him, while he continued so. This manly speech checked the King's hasty project, which would have been construed as a sort of abdication.

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WILLIAM.  
1699.

Kenington, January 6-16th, 1699.

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 6th of December, the 2d, 6th, and 9th of January. I will not at present enlarge upon the great work of the Spanish succession, and what has passed thereon with Count Tallard; of which you will have received circumstantial information from the Earl of Portland, to which I refer you. I will only add, that, at present, it appears to me more than before, that France means to keep to the treaty, and has no intention to begin a new war, unless the proceedings here should lead them to change their resolution, which there is but too much reason to apprehend. It will be necessary for Mr. Dykvelt to set out for Brussels, as soon as possible, in order to concert with the Elector of Bavaria, about acceding to the alliance, and the renunciation, in the same manner, and terms, as the Dauphin has done.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, January 13-23d, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of the 13th and 16th instant. You will have been informed from time to time, by the Earl of Portland, of what has passed with Count Tallard; and we wait for your answer thereon. For my part, I must repeat, that, at present, I begin to believe the intention of France is sincerely to observe the treaty; but I fear much, that the disorders here may cause them to take other resolutions. The Earl of Portland will also have informed you of the discourse Count Harrach has had with Harcourt in Spain, and if it has reached Villars, at Vienna, that may have been the cause of dispatching the courier you mention. I believe we shall now have better hopes of the Imperialists; though I am astonished at the discourses their ministers have held to you and Hop, and how it could enter into their thoughts, that

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England

WILLIAM.  
1699.

England and Holland should take measures with them, to seclude the Electoral Prince of Bavaria from the succession of Spain, and to traverse the will made in his favour. I doubt not but France will advise me of what comes to them from the Imperial court, upon the subject; which Tallard has promised to do, according to the orders he had for that purpose.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, January 31,  
February 10, 1699.

I RECEIVED your letter of February the 3d, together with that from Mr. Dykvelt, so late on Friday, that I had not time to answer them; but only ordered the Earl of Portland, to write you my sentiments in a few words, intending to write to you more amply by this post. But I have, with great sorrow and concern, received your letter by express, with the unexpected news of the decease of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, which changes affairs so much, that I cannot yet foresee the great inconveniencies to which it may lead us. I think you state the affair in a clear light, and touch upon every thing that can be taken into consideration in this important matter. My opinion was, that I could do nothing better at first, than send my Lord Jersey the orders which the Earl of Portland will inform you of; and to hold the same language with Count Tallard; and it will still remain, to take such measures as may be judged most serviceable. I believe France will declare she will hold to the secret article; but I dread the consequences, if it come to be known or made public. With regard to the Republic and myself, I know not what conduct we shall hold in Spain at present. For I cannot comprehend, how we shall ever be able to declare our having intended the succession to the Monarchy, for the Elector of Bavaria; and still less to communicate it to the Imperial court; so that

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that we are in no small labyrinth, and may it please God to help us out of it. The ordinary post of last Friday, is not yet arrived, though the express which set out after it, is; and I do not know by what accident.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

WILLIAM R.

In case Mr. Dykvelt, has not already communicated the secret article to the Elector of Bavaria, I think he ought not to do it, till I see further how France takes this sad accident.

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Kensington, February 3-13th, 1699.

**Y**OUR letter of the 6th, together with Mr. Dykvelt's, came to hand by the ordinary post, on Tuesday last, after I had wrote to you.

Count Tallard has been with me and the Earl of Portland, to-day, and says, he has received an express from his court with the same news, and assures us, they are in the same disposition as when the treaty was made; but seems to insinuate, that the secret article ceases, which in my opinion is the case, having read it over with attention; so that new engagements must be entered upon, in which I foresee no small difficulty, and relative to which, I would willingly learn your sentiments.

WILLIAM R.

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Kensington, February 7-17th, 1699.

**S**INCE my last, I have received your letter of the 10th instant.

I am in daily expectation of an answer from the Earl of Jersey, from France, touching the representation he will have made by my order, on the occasion of the decease of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

varia. I informed you in my last, of the discourse Count Tallard held to me, which he has since continued with the Secretary of State, insinuating that the secret article determines; so that new measures and engagements must be taken, of which one shall be better able to judge, when an answer comes from France.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, February 10-20th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received together your letters of the 13th and 17th instant. I shall not have time at present to answer them at large: the Earl of Portland will inform you of the new proposals Count Tallard has made me this day. It surprises me not a little, that France should consent that a son of the Emperor should be King of Spain, which, before the treaty was made, they protested so strongly they would never agree too, as you know; but it seems as if the desire to have Milan or Lorraine, without a war, induced them to it. It were to be wished, that this great work were again brought to a regular negociation, agreeably to your sentiments; but I foresee that France will press me much for a positive answer, which will embarrass me not a little. For I think the new proposals are not to be slighted, and it will nevertheless be very difficult for us to enter into new engagements, without the previous approbation or knowledge of the Emperor; concerning which I should be glad to receive your opinion, as well on the mode of negotiating, as on the proposals.

WILLIAM R.

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Kenfington, February 17-27th, 1699.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 20th instant. The Earl of Portland will send you an alternative, which Count Tallard has proposed to me, touching the Spanish succession, in favour of the Duke of Savoy; which is, in his opinion, worse than that in favour of the Arch-Duke. You will perceive in both these alternatives, that France is speculating chiefly how to get Lorraine. I can find no reason why France should be advantaged by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. I find it very difficult for us how to negotiate this great business. If we go upon the proposal in favour of Savoy, it is impossible to negotiate any thing at Vienna; but if we go upon that in favour of the Arch-Duke, the negotiation might be entered on there immediately; but Tallard gives sufficiently to understand, that he is for having the affair arranged with me first, which embarrasses me not a little. I long to receive your opinion hereon.

WILLIAM R.

Kenfington, February 21st, 1699.  
March 3d,

LAST Saturday I received your's of February the 24th. I approve at once your reasoning upon the conduct to be held in regard to what France has now proposed; and you will have learnt, that I have spoken with Count Tallard pretty nearly in conformity to this; but I shall be pressed to declare myself further, as I wrote you in my last; and it is certain France will not suffer us to negotiate at Vienna, till we have agreed with her about the conditions; and I fear they will relax very little in the proposals they have now made us; and we shall be not a little embarrassed what party to chuse. I intend to send the Earl of Portland to-morrow to Count Tallard,



WILLIAM. Tallard, to speak to him again upon this matter, of which I will  
1699. acquaint you by the next post.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, February 21th, 1699.  
March 6th,

THERE are no Dutch letters arrived since my last. The Earl of Portland will give you an account, by this post, of what he has said to Count Tallard from me. I think the whole of the business is to endeavour to make France comprehend that they ought not to receive any advantage by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; for the negotiation will go on heavily, so long as they pretend an augmentation of their portion. And, indeed, it is evident, their only object now is to get Lorraine, by one means or other; and I fear much that they will not give way, particularly when I consider their former conduct, and that the King of France himself said to Lord Jersey, "*Qu'il falloit se contenter aussi*;" which is a sign they will persist in their first proposal, as they are used to give way in nothing, when they have once made a proposal; but afterwards rather spoil than mend the matter, though they appear to be making new ones; so that we must think upon new expedients for proposing some equivalent, in case they let the negotiation go forward.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, February 29th, 1699.  
March 10th,

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of February 27th, and March 3d. I approve at once your arguments respecting the negotiation with France; in which nothing further is now to be done, till Count Tallard has received an answer from his Court.

WILLIAM R.

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Kensington, March 7-17th, 1699.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of the 6th, 10th, and 13th instant. I do not yet know that Count Tallard has received letters from France, touching what the Earl of Portland said to him in my name; so that I have nothing farther to write to you at present; but I approve very much your way of reasoning.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, March 10-20th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 17th. The Earl of Portland will inform you of what has passed between him and Count Tallard. I am entirely of your opinion, that Mr. Hop should begin to speak upon the footing you mention, which would give a beginning to the negotiation, and would put it in our power to proceed as far with it as we should think proper; and would hinder France probably from getting beforehand with us, and making us take wrong measures at the Court of Vienna. I desire therefore you will write immediately to Mr. Hop upon this footing. We will in the mean time go on here with Tallard, and advance the business as much as possible.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, March 14-24th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your's of the 20th instant. The Earl of Portland will inform you circumstantially of what has further passed between Count Tallard and him; by which you will see, it appears to be the *ultimatum* of France in the above partition, to have Navarre or Lorraine for the Dauphin; so that I think we must soon determine whether we will treat upon this footing, and afterwards begin the negotiation at Vienna. For I do not believe

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that

WILLIAM.  
1699.

that France is to be brought any further at this juncture, and it is a difficult deliberation what to do next. I should be glad to have your sentiments thereon immediately.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, March 21-31st, 1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received yours of the 24th instant. I refer you to what the Earl of Portland will write you concerning what has been further brought before him by Count Tallard. The whole turns upon what I wrote in my former letter, that, unless the exchange of the Milanese for Lorraine is granted France, nothing will come of this negociation; so that I am not a little embarrassed, considering the difficulties on all sides, and the bad situation of affairs here, which I must necessarily attend to.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, April 4-14th, 1699.

**T**HE Earl of Portland will acquaint you with the answer Count Tallard has received from France, relative to those points delivered to him in my name. He has asked an audience of me (which I cannot grant him before Monday) to repeat to me what he told the Earl of Portland this morning; and, as he refuses all those points, and I am resolved to persist in them, I do not know what will come of this negociation, though I can hardly believe that France will now break it off. The two essential points are Final, and assenting to the Archduke's going to Spain. One would hardly suppose that they would remain firm with regard to the first; but I greatly doubt whether they will consent to the last, for they can allege many reasons which appear very plausible.

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WILLIAM R.

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Windsor, May 12th-22d, 1699.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

I HAD not time to answer your letters the 12th and 15th instant last post; and to-day I have received that of the 19th. I shall refer you to what the Earl of Portland shall write you concerning the negociation with Tallard. I think Mr. Hop should be ordered to open the negociation at Vienna, by shewing that it will be impossible, in case the King of Spain should die, to prevent France from putting herself in possession of that entire monarchy; and consequently that it is the interest of all Europe, of us particularly, to prevent a war; the only means of which is, to accede to a partition of the Spanish succession. The negociation should be opened upon this ground, and you will be best able to judge how to instruct Mr. Hop.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, May 16-26th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 22d, and thereby learnt what has passed at Vienna, in conference with Mr. Hop. It appears that the Ministry there speak quite at their ease, and would have us make war for them, in case of the King of Spain's death. In my opinion, it will be necessary for Mr. Hop to open himself a little further, and begin to mention a partition, with the reasons that render it necessary; for, in all appearance, the negociation here with Tallard will soon be at an end. I also intend to speak to Count Aversberg in the same style, in order to advance the work as much as possible; for the term of three months and a half will be very short for settling every thing.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM.

1699.

Kensington, May 19-29th, 1699.

**T**HOUGH the wind has been constantly east, yet the Dutch letters of Tuesday last are not yet arrived; perhaps, all the packet boats are on this side. I have spoken with Count Aversberg this morning, and told him I was inclined to take measures with the Emperor for preventing a war in case of the King of Spain's death; and shewed him at large the impossibility there was of carrying it on at present against France with any hopes of success, and that I did not know any better means to propose for preventing a French Prince's succeeding to the Crown of Spain, than to endeavour to come to an agreement with France herself about the succession; and for this end it was necessary to treat with Mr. Hop at Vienna upon it. He undertook to write about it, and appeared to approve the affair. During our discourse, he said, he believed the Emperor would agree to a partition, but that we were as much interested as them, in France's not becoming too powerful, particularly in Italy, as it would affect us more with regard to our commerce. You will make use of this conversation for Mr. Hop's information, that he may take his measures accordingly, and you will instruct him further, as you may judge necessary, for the advancement of this negotiation.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, May<sup>22d</sup>, June<sup>2d</sup>, 1699.

**I** RECEIVED your's of May 26th, after the departure of my last; and to-day your's of the 29th. I am sorry the contrary winds hindered the English letters from getting over. I hope you have now received them, and seen what I thought necessary to be written to Mr. Hop, and what I said to Count Aversberg, to which I have nothing to add at present. The Earl of Portland will inform you how the negotiation with Tallard stands. Your sentiments upon the extending of the convention are expected with impatience. I could

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could wish that Mr. Witte could go through with the affair of the *Mariniers*. I have fixed my departure from hence for Friday se'en-  
night, and I pray God may grant me a favourable passage.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

WILLIAM R.

Diseren, June 28th, 1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received the annexed letter from the Earl of Portland, which is in substance the same he wrote you. The exchange of the convention with France might be made by him and Count Tallard at the Hague, or by you in his absence; and Henning shall send you the instrument for that purpose. I could wish Count Tallard came here as little as possible, not to give any umbrage; and I desire you to say so from me. I think the French are in the right not to make any proposals about Lorraine, till the negotiation with the Emperor is farther advanced, which you may tell both to Bonrepos and Tallard.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 6th, 1699.

**I** AM glad Mr. Hop has begun the negociation at Vienna, and that it does not appear to have made any bad impression at first. The time is certainly short for expediting this great work; and therefore France should have made no difficulties to prolong the time, which cannot prejudice them.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 4-14th, 1699.

**I** DO not answer your letters regularly, but only as I think they require it, which I hope you will not think strange. Your last is of the 11th instant. You have done very well to write to Hop to complain of the delays at Vienna. I only fear lest they should  
4 occasion

WILLIAM.  
1699.

occasion the concluding of this great work without them; not from the difficulty of the work, nor because they will not accept the conditions, but merely because the Ministry there cannot come to any conclusive resolution. Yesterday I received another express from the Elector of Bavaria, who is greatly alarmed at the situation of affairs at Madrid, and that the Ministry push him so hard, and are for taking the government of the Spanish Netherlands from him, as you will also see by the annexed letter from Schonenberg, which came by the same express. We must now consider whether or not to support him in the government, and in what manner.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, July 7-17th, 1699.

BY my last you have seen my anxiety for the delays at the Court of Vienna, in which I am confirmed by your's of May 14th; and I think you have written very properly to Hop, and I also am pleased with the answer you have given to Bonrepos. I think his object was only curiosity, or to begin the negociation at the Hague, which he ardently wishes for.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, July 8-18th, 1699.

THIS morning I received your letter of yesterday; and having examined Mr. Hop's letter to you, with your answer, and also what you farther propose writing to him, I approve it entirely; and also that you should speak to Bonrepos on that footing next Monday; and if Tallard comes to me at Loo to-morrow, which I hear he will, I shall talk to him in the same style. There is only one point, on which I know not whether France has declared herself positively, Whether her share of the Spanish succession is to go to the Dauphin,



Dauphin, or one of his sons? though I doubt not but it is for the Dauphin, in order to annex it to the Crown of France.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

I begin now to have better hopes of the negociation; but I am always apprehensive of the irresolution of the Court of Vienna.

WILLIAM R.

Loe, July 14-24th, 1699.

I HAVE not yet answered your letters of the 18th, 21st, and 22d instant, which I duly received. Count Aversberg was with me yesterday, and said in substance the very same Count Goes and he had said to you. I answered in general terms, that I was glad to find the Emperor inclined to come to an accommodation, which I looked upon as very necessary at present, considering the situation of affairs, and the very dangerous state of the King of Spain's health; that I would willingly learn what would content France in the succession, and give Mr. Hop information of every thing. I thought it better to enter into no farther particulars with him, having learned from experience, that his relation of affairs is not always very exact. I advised him earnestly to insist on speedy resolutions at his court; for that their ordinary delays would be insupportable on the present occasion.

I did not think proper to speak about the place of the negociation, for had I mentioned the Hague, it would have been thought I proposed it; and Count Tallard, who was here, having told me he had positive orders to declare that France would not negotiate at Vienna, but at the Hague, I think you had best say so to Aversberg and Goes. I did tell the former, that as the affair was so pressing, he should write to his Court to send him and Goes full power to treat. For my part, it is indifferent which is the place, though the Hague would be the most convenient. The idea, however, strikes me, whether it might not go on quicker at Vienna, as the Ministry there, being

WILLIAM.  
1699.

being able to speak to the Emperor every day, might determine much sooner, than by sending orders to their Ministers at the Hague; but, however, if France will not have it otherwise, it must be so.

WILLIAM R.

Lee, July 17-27th, 1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received your letter of the 25th. I am of opinion with you that we must wait for the Court of Vienna's answer to Hop's proposal, before we speak of the place of negotiation. In the mean while, it is necessary you should press Counts Aversberg and Goes to procure speedy resolutions from their Court, and full powers to treat. I have spoken to Count Aversberg upon it. Count Tallard was with me yesterday, but spoke of no business, which I wonder at. He went away in the evening, saying, he expected a courier, and would then come again. As he did not desire to speak to me, I thought I ought not to enter into conversation with him, having nothing particular to say.

WILLIAM R.

Lee, August 16th, 1699.

**I** HAVE this day received your letter of yesterday. The orders which Goes and Aversberg have received, appear to me to be a mere trick to lose time; thinking, at the same time, that England and Holland are most inclined for the Indies, on account of their commerce, and that they will therefore give more attention to them than to Italy. I do not know of any thing to add to what you have answered, and what you intend to write to Hop to-morrow. This confirms me more and more in my opinion, that the Ministry at Vienna are for being forced; which to me is an irreprehensible policy, and will embarrass us much.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM.

1699.

Dieren, August 21st, 1699.

IT grieves me to see the disposition of the Court of Vienna; that there is so little hope to see the great work of the Spanish succession terminated by an agreement between the Emperor and France, and that we shall be forced to enter into separate engagements with France, which I would so willingly have avoided, knowing what bad consequence it will be of to us. I am therefore still of opinion, that all imaginable means must be used to endeavour to obtain from France a prolongation of the term for treating with her.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 15th, 1699.

LAST night I received yours of the 13th, and learn by it the answer which the express from Vienna has brought, which, though far from the *ultimatum* of France, yet I did not think the Imperialists would have advanced so far at first. I think the French Ambassadors are greatly in the wrong to press the time so much for concluding the treaty, for a little delay cannot be of any prejudice to France, and the negociation they pretend the Emperor has underhand, can certainly make little change in the great work. But that is not the object; what France aims at is, to make them conclude a separate treaty with her, which she would prefer to a voluntary one; for by forcing them, all the blame of the affair would result to us, and the benefit to her. I do not expect much by the express which Hop is to send. In my opinion it is not our business to require to conclude with France, till we send one more courier to Vienna, to inform them that, unless they accept those conditions, we shall be obliged to come to an agreement with France, about the Spanish succession, without them. And, in all probability, several days will pass before the courier reaches Hop, and also several others before he is

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redispached,

WILLIAM. redispached, and the 25th of this month will be elapsed long before  
 1699. the answer can arrive here.

WILLIAM R.

Loa, September 19th, 1699.

I HAVE received your dispatch of yesterday. I confess I find myself embarrassed what answer to give, touching the memorial Count Tallard gave the Earl of Portland, which has been delivered to the Marquis D'Harcourt at Madrid. It is in substance what Quiros has said to you and the Earl of Portland. My embarrassment is, that I cannot hinder France from making the negociation public, though I do not approve the answer France intends to give Spain; and should I approve it, then the treaty must go forward immediately, or very soon at least; which you know I would willingly have avoided. At present I see no other way than to answer as you have proposed, when the courier arrives that is expected from Vienna, and if he brings nothing particular. But the expressions in France's answer to Spain must be changed absolutely, that it may not appear to be a treaty already concluded, which in truth it is not, for the Republic has not yet deliberated upon it. I think if I can bring this answer to be consented to, France will have less reason to press me to conclude the treaty; but it is certain, that the Republic must take it immediately into consideration. I am entirely of your opinion, that this intended answer of France is only, by making the negociation public, to press us so much the more to a conclusion without the Emperor's intervention; and that France's present object, according to my judgment, is to separate us by that means from that party; which is very wrong, but we cannot help ourselves at present.

WILLIAM R.

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Loo, September 12th-22d, 1699.

WILLIAM.

1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received your letter of the 20th, and shall long to see what the courier will bring from Vienna. I think by what Mr. Hop writes, that the Imperialists will come very near the mark; but the chief obstacle will be the Milanese.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, September 26th, 1699.

**I** HAVE two of your letters to answer, of the 23d and 24th instant. The eagerness which Tallard shews more than Bonrepos, to have an answer relative to what must be said to Spain, arises, in my opinion, from self-interest or caprice, for they have certainly the same orders from their Court; for it is not the maxim of France to send different orders to her Ministers. I hardly think you will have an answer from Vienna to-morrow, and therefore I hope you may still be able to delay giving a positive answer to the French Ambassadors, though the impertinent memorial of the Spanish Ambassador at London should make me rather hasten the negotiation.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 29th, 1699.

**T**HE Earl of Portland will communicate to you the impertinent and seditious writing which the Spanish Ambassador has given out in England. I could not do less than order him to depart out of the kingdom in fourteen days. King Charles did the same thing to D. Bernardo Salinas, and to Fonçeca who is still living, only because he had corresponded and had conferences with members of Parliament. This step will embroil me with Spain at once; but I cannot avoid it; and consequently I shall have less scruple to con-

WILLIAM.  
1699.

clude the treaty with France. This evening or to-morrow I shall probably learn what passed last Sunday in your conference with the French Ambassadors.

WILLIAM R.

Since I wrote the above, I have received your two long letters of yesterday, and I thank you for the trouble. And, in order to give you a short answer, I approve entirely your ideas about sending a courier to Vienna again, with instructions for Mr. Hop, in the manner you propose; as also your intention of speaking and concerting with the French Ambassador about the answer to be given to Spain. You must now immediately bring this whole negotiation into deliberation by the States, for it must not be delayed any longer; and I foresee that the treaty must now soon be concluded.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, October 8th, 1699.

I HAVE only this evening received yours of yesterday. I am entirely of your opinion, in regard to the article of Lorraine, and that we should speak further thereupon with the French.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, October 20-30th, 1699.

ON my arrival at Margate, I dispatched a boat with letters to acquaint you with my happy landing, but as the wind has blowed continually east, you will perhaps receive this at the same time. I never had a more happy or commodious passage. I have this morning received your letter of the 27th, and read with attention the protest of the Imperialists. I think I can give the paper no other name.

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name. I must confess, that it contains many reasons of weight and consideration; but things appear to me to be gone too far, to admit of much reasoning upon them. It was very agreeable to me to learn what passed between you and Bonrepos, the day after my departure, which revives the negotiation. I have thought myself under a necessity of informing my Ambassador in France, of what passed at the Hague, in order that he might be able to undeceive the King of France and his ministers, of the biased impression Tallard may have given them; as if I had shuffled in this business, and had not kept to my engagement; and to endeavour to procure orders to be sent Bonrepos, to adjust and settle all difficulties with the Republic.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

WILLIAM R.

Though the negotiation at Vienna appears to be at an end, yet Mr. Hop cannot be recalled at this crisis, but must stay there a little while longer. It is reported that Count Aversberg has said, he had heard Mr. Hop was recalled, and that in that case, he should be obliged to depart also; and that all intercourse and correspondence would be broken off.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, October 23d.  
November 3d, 1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received your letter of the 30th of October, and I am very sorry to see that the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, decline the convention for the Spanish succession. Undoubtedly, the whole magistracy will be of the same way of thinking, so that other arguments must be tried to persuade them to it. I think you must bring that work before the generality in my name, in order to see what the provinces will say to it; and in order to fulfil my engagements with France, that I would do my best to bring the



WILLIAM.  
1699.

the treaty to effect. I think in the mean while, you should give Bonrepos those remarks of importance which Amsterdam made upon the treaty, without however naming that town as yet; but as remarks of some ministers of the Republic, that he may send them to France and receive further orders thereon, which will shew we are for losing no time. As soon as I hear any thing from France touching this negociation, I will immediately inform you.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, October 31st,  
November 10th, 1699.

I DID not write to you by the last post for want of matter. I have since received your letters of the 3d and 6th of November. You will have seen by my preceding letter, that I think it will be necessary for my justification, that the great work of the negociation be brought before the generality; but I own, conformably to your ideas, that no remarks should be given Bonrepos, as long as Amsterdam is against the whole negociation, which till now I had not so comprehended. I have letters from France, that Prior was arrived; but that my Ambassador could not have a private audience of the King (as he was at Marli) till next Saturday or Tuesday; so that it will probably be the latter end of next week, before I can inform you of his return, unless Count Tallard should come here sooner. I think the affair is now in that state, that we must first know how France looks upon it, before we can judge what will be the issue of the whole work.

WILLIAM R.

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WILLIAM.  
1699.Hampton-court, November 7<sup>th</sup> 1699.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup>. It appears from Bonrepos's language, that they are for negotiating that great business here and not at the Hague, which it will be equally impossible to do, whilst the people of the Republic continue to have their difficulties. I hear nothing yet of Count Tallard's coming over; and have nothing further from France, nor do I expect any thing till the end of this week, as my Ambassador will not have been able to have an audience of the King of France, till to-day; so that I have nothing further to write to you at present, upon this important matter.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, November 10-20<sup>th</sup>, 1699.

**T**HE day before yesterday, I received your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup>, and saw with great concern, that Amsterdam not only persists in not acceding to the treaty; but also, that there is little hope of making her change her sentiments, which embarrasses me not a little. I expect Prior from France to-morrow or the day after, and shall find by him how the affair is taken in France; and shall then be in a better condition to judge what is to be done further in this important work. I imagine, that when France sees that the Republic will not enter into this said treaty, they will be for engaging me to do it alone; not so much, because France will think herself securer by that, but to see if I act in good faith; and also to separate me from the Republic, which is a great embarrassment to me on all sides; and I shall not be a little perplexed what part to take. I desire you will let me know your ideas upon this.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

Kennington, November 14-24th, 1699.

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 17th instant. I am very sorry that the Amsterdam gentlemen continue in the same sentiments; and the arguments Pensionary Buis alleges to you, appear incomprehensible to me. I doubt, however, whether Amsterdam, in case all the provinces consent, would remain single in an affair of this nature. In the mean time, if it were possible to get the Emperor to consent, it would be a desirable circumstance; for if the only, or the greatest difficulty consists in the affair of the renunciation, as Count Goes seems to have told you, some expedient might be proposed, to wit, That, reciprocally, neither the Emperor, nor the King of France, should renounce for their descendants. Prior returned from France two days ago, and tells me, that the answer which the French King gave my Ambassador was in substance. That he owned, he was surpris'd the treaty was not yet signed; that he was glad to find, I continued in the same sentiment of entering into the treaty; and that he had the same inclination, and would send Tallard hither, as soon as might be, to perfect the work; that he could make use of no other minister in it than him, as he had always been in the secret of the negotiation; and that he did not doubt, but I had more credit in the Republic than him: seeming to insinuate, that I could direct the business there as I thought proper; and that I also best knew the form and manner. I expect Count Tallard every day, who probably will be much surpris'd and discontented, that the Republic is not yet prepared to sign.

WILLIAM R.

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Hampton Court, November 17-27th, 1699.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

I RECEIVED your's of the 20th, after I had written to you by the last post. I have for once nothing to say to you concerning the great work of the negociation, as Count Tallard is not yet arrived. I am entirely of your opinion, that, in the present state of the difference in Holstein, nothing else can be done to prevent a war, than that the mediators and guarantees should make the declaration you mention. I have already sent orders to Cresett, to join with the others in doing it; but there is no time to be lost; and I fear the Danes have already commenced hostilities. I wish you could agree with Von Stocken, upon all the articles of a treaty, and reserve it to the last.

WILLIAM R.

Kennington, November 24th, 1699.  
December 4th,

I HAVE this day received your letters of the 24th and 27th of November. Count Tallard arrived here two days ago, and has had an audience of me to-day; the substance of what he told me in it, is, That the King his master was surpris'd that the treaty in question, was not signed before my departure from the Hague; and that the republic should make difficulties about it at present, seeing they were so ready to conclude a similar one a year ago; and, That he had power and order to sign the said treaty even here, with whom-ever the Republic should authorize. I answered, That the republic had not yet come to a resolution upon it, and that I could not deny that more difficulties were arisen than I had been able to foresee; that I had done my best sincerely, and still should do. To which he replied, that the King his master was persuaded of it, and had received with pleasure the assurance I had caused to be made thereon, by my Ambassador in France; but that he could not enter

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into

WILLIAM.  
1697.

into any detail how it stood with the republic on this matter, nor what was to be done; but that the direction of that must be left to me. That no alteration could be made in the essential points of the treaty; but they were well inclined to make any literal corrections, or to elucidate and clear up any part that was necessary; but that it must be done here, as he had orders to conclude the business here and no where else. And he besought me earnestly, that he might know betimes whether the Republic would accede to this alliance or not; for his King could wait no longer, and must take other measures. I thereupon told him, I could give him no other answer, than that I did my best to persuade the Republic to it; and that there were three posts due from Holland; for I had not then received your letters. He concluded with saying, That he hoped shortly to have a positive answer; and gave sufficiently to understand that he should wait no longer. I found him much out of humour during this conversation (which was not long) worse than when you saw him at the Hague; repeating to me several times, that he had foreseen this difficulty, which he had told you and the Earl of Portland, and he appeared to have no hopes of the whole business; enhancing the great prejudice his King suffered from the long lingering of this work. It was easy to answer this, and shew the contrary. He said very positively, That his King would no longer remain in this state of uncertainty, but would know whether the Republic would enter into the treaty or not; so that you may easily conceive how hard I shall be pressed to give a positive answer, which it is impossible for me to do yet; and it is certain, that a delay will soon be taken for a refusal, so that you see I shall be not a little embarrassed. Hitherto Count Tallard has not let appear in all his discourse, whether they were inclined to propose a separate treaty to me. I should rather think not, as he constantly spoke of taking other measures. I am obliged to you for communicating to me your sentiments thereon; you will have seen by my latter letters, that I  
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desired it. I am perfectly of your opinion, that it is not eligible  
for me to treat with France, distinct from the Republic.

WILLIAM.  
1699.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, November 28th, 1699.  
December 8th,

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 1st and 4th of December. I could wish the provinces would hasten their consent to the alliance, that you might be the more enabled to persuade Amsterdam of it. It is certain their greatest difficulty arises from Vienna, and I am as sorry as they, that the Emperor is not to be persuaded, which Hop's last letter confirms more and more. Count Tallard has not spoken to me on the subject since, and you will easily imagine I shall not begin the conversation first.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, December 5-15th, 1699.

I WAS not able to write to you by the last post, though I had received your's of the 8th, and I have since received that of the 11th. I hope the remaining provinces have now consented, and consequently, Amsterdam being alone, that you will have been able to press them further. In case the province of Overijssel has not consented, I have caused the Landdrost of Twente to be written to, to conclude with a majority. It is Mr. Van Almelo who gives us all this work, touching whose conduct I must hereafter find an opportunity of entertaining you. Count Tallard has not spoken to me since, concerning the great work; whether it is out of discretion, or that he waits for further orders from France, or possibly because he knows what is going on in Holland, I am ignorant. It is not my intention to speak to him first on the subject, as I have nothing positive to say yet. In case the Republic resolves to accede to the

WILLIAM.  
1659.

treaty, you will be pleased to turn in your mind how it can be settled and signed here.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, December 19-29th, 1659.

I DID not write to you by the last post, for want of matter, and I have since received your letters of the 22d and 25th instant. I am glad to find Zealand has consented, and I doubt not but Overyssel has done the same; and that now Amsterdam stands out alone, you will be able to press her further. Count Tallard was with me yesterday, and asked, whether powers were come from Holland to sign? I answered, No; that the consent to accede to the treaty was not yet general, but that I now had better hopes than before, that the Republic might be brought to it, and in a short time. He said, that the King his Master should remain no longer in uncertainty; that he was very sorry the treaty was not concluded, even for his own sake, but that he was obliged to write to his Court how this business was delayed, and did not know what orders he might receive after that; that if I would assure him that I would give him a positive answer in a fortnight or so, either Yes or No, he would defer writing, but not otherwise. I answered, That it was impossible to fix so short a time; but that I promised him, immediately to tell him if the Republic should accede to this alliance; and still repeated, that I hoped to learn in a very short time that the Republic had resolved upon it, and I did not doubt but the treaty would be concluded. He said, he saw little appearance of it, and that he had long foreseen it, and must give account of it to his Court. I said, It was his duty so to do, but that I hoped he would relate the affair as it really was, that there never was a greater appearance of a speedy conclusion than at present. He was very much agitated, and took leave without saying a word more. During our discourse, he exclaimed much against the prejudice his King had suffered by this delay, which I strongly gainsaid, and



and shewed that France could not have suffered any prejudice, but that there was not much to be said in favour of remaining in an uncertainty much longer. So that I hope that affair will have a speedy issue in Holland; and as soon as it shall be resolved upon there, I am of your opinion, that information of it should be given to Sweden, Brandenburg, and wherever else you may think necessary, in order to invite them to the guarantee of it.

WILLIAM.  
1700.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, December 22d, 1699.  
January 1st, 1700.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 29th of December, and learnt with joy that Overyffel will, in all probability, have consented the following day, and consequently that you will have been enabled to press the Amsterdammers to conform, and not to remain particular. You will have seen by my last, that France will certainly remain no longer in uncertainty, and it is much to be wished, that the affair could be brought to a speedy conclusion. The settling of the treaty, and the form of signing it, will require much ado and time, which will drive Tallard mad; for he will not negotiate in Holland, so that you must bethink yourself of some expedients. I have nothing further to add at present.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, January 2d-12th, 1700.

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 5th instant, and see with pain the little probability there is of Amsterdam's conforming to the other members of the Republic, in entering into a treaty with France about the Spanish succession; which puts me in the utmost perplexity what to do in this important affair, in case Amsterdam persists. It is certain, France will wait no longer, but will

WILLIAM.  
1700.

will have a positive answer, Yes or No; and I do not doubt but Count Tallard will come to speak with me next Friday, when I propose going to Kensington. I beg you will let me know your opinion what I can do in these difficult matters; for there are so many difficulties on all sides, that I cannot see through them.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, January 5th-15th, 1700.

WE want two mails from Holland, which I expect hourly, as the wind has been easterly the whole day. Count Tallard has been here to-day, but has not spoken a word, looking much out of humour. He has seen Count Aversberg a few days past (which he had not done before) and affected great familiarity, by which he will probably insinuate that his Master will endeavour to settle the great affair of the succession with the Emperor. This I do not think improbable; so that Amsterdam's complaisance or deference for the Imperial Court may be of the utmost prejudice to us.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, January 9-19th, 1700.

THE day before yesterday I received your letters of the 8th and 12th instant together, and late this evening that of the 15th. I am very glad Amsterdam has consented. It is impossible for me to write you any thing on this subject to-night. I must defer it to the next. I am also glad that Holland has consented to the treaty with Sweden.

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WILLIAM R.

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WILLIAM.  
1700.

Kenington, January 12th-22d, 1700.

I WROTE you by Tuesday's post, that I had just received your letter of the 15th late in the evening, since which no Dutch letters are arrived. The Earl of Portland will inform you circumstantially by this post, how he has adjusted all the remarks with Count Tallard. There seems nothing remaining to perfect this important work, but to find an expedient how to sign the treaty here, on the part of the Republic, with Count Tallard and my Plenipotentiaries. Count Tallard would be very unwilling to go to the Hague; and I also think it would occasion a great *eclat*; for he has no pretext in the world for going thither. So that you ought immediately to devise in what manner it can be best arranged.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, February 2d-12th, 1700.

SINCE my last I have received your letter of the 5th, and today that of the 9th. The Earl of Portland will inform you by this post, that he adjusted every thing with Count Tallard yesterday; and that consequently the treaty will be signed in a few days. Secretary Vernon will also send you the signed treaty with Sweden. So that these two affairs are brought to an end.

WILLIAM R.

Kenington, February 6-16th, 1700.

I DID think that the treaty would have been signed with Tallard, before the departure of this post; but as some difficulties have been raised by some of my Council, to whom I had communicated it in great secrecy, it must be deferred till the next.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM.  
1700.

Hampton Court, April 19-20th, 1700.

I HAVE spoken with Count Tallard, and agreed, that Mr. Hop, the Marquis de Villars, and my Secretary \*, should immediately inform the Court of Vienna of our treaty, as you will learn more amply by the Earl of Portland, and probably by Count Briord also. As for the Pope and Venice, we shall not trouble ourselves about them, and France alone will mention it in Spain, and we must wait for the answer from Vienna, before we can communicate it to the Northern Crowns and the German Princes. I shall not acquaint Count Aversberg of it before Sunday se'ennight, that our letters may first reach Vienna; you will write to Hop agreeably to this, and a post or two after notify it to Count Goes.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 12th, 1700.

I DID not write to you by the last post for want of matter. I have since received your's of the 5th instant; and this evening the terrible news of the decease of the King of Spain on the 1st instant, by a letter *per* express from Lord Manchester of the 9th from Fontainebleau, together with a letter from Schonenburg of the 1st instant, written a few hours after the death of the King of Spain, whose will is said to be in favour of one of the Dauphin's sons; and that Cardinal Portecarrero is appointed Regent of the whole monarchy till the will is opened. By my account, you must have received the same sorrowful tidings about the same time. I can now hardly have any further doubt that he will accede to the partition-treaty. The two months stipulated for him to declare himself, is a short term; there should therefore be no time lost in pressing the

\* It seems strange that an English Minister of rank and character, should not have been then at the Imperial Court.

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Imperial Court to accede. I believe Tallard will now be here again soon, and press me to declare myself about the exchange of Savoy and Piedmont against Naples and Sicily. According to my Ambassador's letters from France, Torcy has spoken to him upon that business, and shewed great eagerness to enter into it; so that we risk nothing in not declaring ourselves so speedily; and I do not know whether we can now do it without a previous communication to the Imperial Court. I shall earnestly wait to have your sentiments at large on this important matter.

WILLIAM.  
1700.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 16th, 1700.

**Y**ESTERDAY I received your letters of the 9th and 12th instant, and nearly about the same time an express from my Ambassador in France with the inclosed. Though I doubt not but you will have received the same information before this reaches you, yet I cannot think it unnecessary to send it to you, on account of the importance of the matter. I should have done it last night, but I believe you will receive it as early by the ordinary post. I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding of France will surprise you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France; but I must confess, I did not think they would, on this occasion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty, before it was well accomplished. The motives alleged in the annexed memorial are so shameful, that I cannot conceive how they can have the effrontery to produce such a paper. We must confess we are dupes, but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man. The worst is, it brings us into the the greatest embarrassment, particularly when I consider the constitution of affairs here; for the blindness of the people here is incredible.

VOL. II.

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dible.

WILLIAM.  
1700.

dible. For though this affair is not public yet, it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion, that it was better for England that France should accept the will, than fulfil the treaty of partition. I think I ought not to conceal this from you, in order that you may be informed of the sentiments here, which are contrary to mine. For I am perfectly persuaded, that if this will be executed, England and the Republic are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined. I will hope that the Republic understands it thus, and will exert her whole force to oppose so great an evil. It is the utmost mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite, and set a good example; but the Republic must do it, and I will engage people here, by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without their perceiving it. I have provisionally sent orders to my Ambassador, to declare, That I hold to the treaty, and that the two months the Emperor had to declare himself, are expired. Before I could take any further determination, this occurred to me first, in order to gain time, which we have so much need of. I am not determined, whether it would be best that the Emperor should accede to the treaty, or declare his right to the whole succession. Possibly acceding to the treaty would be best for Holland; but as that is not approved here, the other may perhaps be best. You can judge better of it than I can. In case the Emperor will take up the matter with vigour, he can, in my opinion, do nothing else than make himself master of the Milanese immediately, and endeavour to get Naples and Sicily to declare for him, and thus try to make himself master of Italy; in which the Italian Princes may perhaps concur. What embarrasses me most, is the Spanish Netherlands; for it will be very difficult for the Elector of Bavaria to prevent their declaring in favour of, and acknowledging the Duke of Anjou, in case he receives orders from Spain for that purpose, or is

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pressed by the French. The troops of the Republic in garrison there, ought to be well upon their guard, and the Elector can dispose of them and his own troops, so that he will have the superiority. The only thing I can devise, which the Elector can make use of for a pretext not to declare himself yet, or obey, is, the term of two months which the Emperor has to chuse in; or, that he cannot quit the government till his debt is paid. I am resolved to send some one from hence to Brussels to speak with the Elector, and to keep a watchful eye.

WILLIAM,  
1700.

These are my first and general ideas, which I have thought proper to communicate to you in this weighty and difficult conjuncture, and shall eagerly expect your better sentiments upon the whole of this business, which I pray God to direct for our good, and to rid us from these great difficulties. I confess I think vigour is necessary on this occasion, and hope it is to be found in the Republic, in case the Emperor will maintain his right. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all Courts, to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good, not being able to play any other game with these people, than engaging them imperceptibly,

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 8-19th, 1700.

I RECEIVED your letters of the 13th and 15th instant by express, the day after the departure of my last, and find you did not then know that France had renounced the treaty of partition. It seems to me, that Count Briord must have been informed of it, from the coolness which he shewed about the execution of it. I wrote to you my first ideas upon this important and embarrassing incident,

3 E 2

by



WILLIAM.  
1700.

by the last post; by the next, I may probably be informed of your sentiments, which I long much to have. It grieves me to the soul to find that, now the affair grows public, almost every one rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty; insinuating, that it is more advantageous for England and all Europe; merely upon the supposition that the Duke of Anjou being a child, and to be brought up in Spain, will imbibe Spanish maxims, and be governed by the Spanish Council, without any relation to France. These are suppositions, which, in my opinion, cannot take place; and I fear we shall feel the contrary too soon. It is certain, if the Emperor submits to the will, we can do nothing against it; so that we must know what the Emperor does, before we can take a positive resolution. I think now, I can send nobody extraordinary thither, in the present circumstances, till I know how the affair will be taken up; particularly when I consider the present sentiments of people here, which may probably change; for there is nothing certain here, nor of long duration. I fear the usual tardiness of the Court of Vienna will not let them come to a speedy resolution, which is so necessary in this conjuncture. My chief anxiety is to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. You will easily conceive how this business goes to my heart; for I shall be blamed for having relied on engagements with France, having had so much experience that they are never bound to any treaty. I wish I may be quit for the blame, but I have too much reason to fear I shall too soon feel the bad effects of it.

WILLIAM R.

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Hampton Court, November 23, 1700.

WILLIAM.  
1700.

**S**INCE my last, I have received your's of the 16th instant. It seems to me incomprehensible that Count Briord should have feigned so with you, as if they still intended to execute the treaty in France; for it is impossible but he must have known the resolution taken there to accept the will, of which I acquainted you by the post of this day se'ennight; and had the wind been favourable, I should have received your answer yesterday or to-day, which I long much for. I have not had any letters from France since; and the ordinary post, which mostly arrives on the Saturday, is not yet come in: whether the letters be detained in France, I know not, the wind and water having been pretty favourable, so that I hourly expect further news how they proceed in this important work, and also in what light the Republic and you look upon it. Therefore I can say nothing further to you at present upon this matter, than what I have wrote in my two preceding letters. People here are all quiet, and trouble their thoughts little with the great change in the affairs of the world. It seems "as if it were a punishment from heaven that people here are so little sensible to what passes without the island, though we ought to have the same interests and anxieties as those upon the continent."

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 15-26th, 1700.

**T**HE letters from Holland of last Tuesday and Friday's dates are not yet arrived, probably from contrary wind; which vexes me much in the present great change of affairs, as I long to know your sentiments, and how this unexpected accident is looked on by the Republic; and till I am informed of that, I can write nothing more to you upon this important matter, than I have done in my three preceding letters.

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I learn

WILLIAM.  
1700.

I learn by the French letters, that the Duke of Anjou is declared King of Spain, and is to set out thither the first of next month; so that the ice is broke; and the Elector of Bavaria writes, that he has been obliged to do the same thing in the Spanish Netherlands, and to cause *Te Deum* to be sung. These steps make the affair so difficult, that I shudder when I think on it. It will probably be a fortnight yet before one can know what resolution the Imperial Court will have taken; according to which, it now seems, every thing ought to be regulated. I must confess, this business causes me no small chagrin.

WILLIAM R.

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## No. VII.

*The Somers Papers.*

In the pos-  
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Earl of  
Hardwicke.

It is well known, that the manuscripts of this eminent statesman and lawyer were destroyed by a fire which broke out at Lincoln's-Inn 1752. The honourable person\*, in whose possession they were, took pains to recover the fragments which the flames had spared; and, after correcting the damaged passages with his own hand, bound up the valuable remains in a folio volume. Such parts of them as are thought best to deserve the public notice, and fittest to shew the weight which Lord Somers had with the Princes he served, and the friends he supported, have been selected for this work, and it is hoped, will be thought one of the principal recommendations of it.

The world will, however, do that justice to the collection, as not to suppose that these specimens from it, *immitis ignis reliquie*, will afford an adequate idea of its merit. It filled upwards of sixty volumes in 4to, and did not contain a paper from Lord Somers's pen, which the most intimate friend would have wished to secrete, or the bitterest enemy could have fairly turned to his prejudice.

The Editor recollects, that the rough drafts of the *Treatise on Grand Jurors*, and the *just and modest Vindication of the last Parliaments of Charles II.* were preserved in the hand-writing of Lord Somers; as likewise the famous last speech of King William prepared for him by that noble Lord, when he was not actually in his Councils, but on the point of being restored to them.

There were minutes of two remarkable Cabinet Councils; one of them held on the second Partition Treaty in 1699; when, in

\* The Honourable Charles Yorke, Esq; then at the bar.

answer to several objections made by the Lords present, Lord Portland, who had negotiated and signed it, declared decisively, as from the King, *That such as it was, it must be taken or left, for no alterations could be made.* On which one of the Lords present (probably lord Somers himself) observed, "If that was the case, he saw no reason for calling them together." The second Cabinet Council met in 1710, soon after the removal of the Lords Godolphin and Sunderland, when Mr. Harley, though not in office, was the real First Minister; the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset at that time closely connected with him, were of it. At this Cabinet, Lord Somers, then President of the Council, expressed himself in the strongest manner against the turn which things were then taking, and plainly imputed the rupture of the conferences at Gertruydenberg on the part of the French, to the hopes they had conceived of a change of measures and men here. The speech was pointed and strong.

The collection was very copious about the great affair of the Union. There were letters to Lord Somers, from most of the Scotch Peers, who were active and zealous for it; particularly the Lords Stair and Marchmont.

There was in one of the volumes a sketch of the plan, which Lord Somers had prepared for his defence in Westminster Hall, had the frivolous and vexatious impeachment against him been brought to trial; and in another, some imperfect hints for an answer to such parts of Lord Rochester's preface and dedication to his father's history as conveyed an unfavourable idea of King William's engaging in continental alliances, and neglecting the navy, and of the countenance given by the low churchmen to the dissenters at that time.

For the exactness of these details, the Editor can safely rely on his memory, and hopes, they will not be unacceptable to the public, though they may augment its regret for the loss of such valuable historical memorials.]

## NOTE

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VOL.

*NOTES of what passed in the Convention upon the day  
the question was moved in the House of Commons concern-  
ing the Abdication of King James II. the 28th of Ja-  
nuary 1688-9.*

1688-9.  
Transcribed  
from Lord  
Somers's  
notes taken  
with a pencil.

*Mr. Dolben.*

**V**ACANCY in the government, and the King demised.—King withdrawn without provision.—Fact clear.—Law plain.—1. The word shews it.—2. The same reason for providing whether his demise be merely civil, or whether it be natural, as well as civil.—Chasm in the administration.—Total failure of Justice.—Authorities.—Edward IV. upon the rumour of the Earl of Warwick's coming, fled: held to be a demise, and all proceedings discontinued.—Judges learned at that time, Lyttleton one.—*Obj.* Edward IV. returned.—*Ans.* But that was by conquest.—Edward II. resigned by duress, yet adjudged a demise in the same term.—1 Edward 3. 3.—Richard II. resigned *per minas*.—Raft. 528, b.—In this case\*, departure voluntary.—King acknowledged it.—Did the same thing twice.—This consonant to other laws.—Grotius.—Hottoman.—A Prince ceasing to administer justice, he ceases to be King.—Moves, that it is the opinion of the committee, that King James II. is demised, by voluntary departure, in consequence of which the government is without a King.

*Mr. Arnold*

Seconded.

*Sir R. Temple.*

Before he went, destroyed all the foundations of the government.—In respect to parliament, what arts were used!—Turned out all men, who would not comply.—Modelled corporations.—Westminster-hall an instrument of slavery and popery.—Judges turned out, till the

\* *i. e.* James's.

VOL. II.

3 F

dispensing

1688-9.

dispensing power owned.—Ordinary justice destroyed, and extraordinary relief prevailed.—This is falling from royal powers.—He is a tyrant who acts against his own laws.—Church ruled by ecclesiastical commission law.—Freeholders by martial law.—If no vacancy, how came we here? What steps have been taken towards a compliance?—He suppressed the writs for calling a free Parliament.—Took away the Great Seal.—In breach of his oath endeavoured to subvert the government.—That relinquished, as to the exercise.—Provide for yourselves.—Your resolution already declared, by placing the administration in the Prince of Orange.

*Mr. Howe*

Thinks it a forfeiture, though he has not the same fears.

*Sir R. Howard*

Instructed by three worthy persons who have spoken.—Not merely to rest it on a *demise*.—Other English Kings have sucked in the poison of arbitrary power.—That not enough in this instance, our souls must have been enslaved.—Nothing left to subvert.—Usurped all civil and ecclesiastical power.—Violence ever attending his religion.—Corporations.—Closetting.—This Richard the Second's design.—High court of Special Justice, to ruin religious rights, as the dispensing power, the civil.—Ask, if after this a King?—But a King can do no wrong.—This is to quit the part of a King, to act that of a tyrant.—Bacon.—Forfeiture.—Every man has a divine right to his life; forfeits it, if he breaks the compact.—So the King.—Compact is the origin of power.—Grotius says so.—People part of the legislative power.—*Abdication* of the government.—Declaration for liberty of conscience would have ruined both Church and State together.—Right devolved on the people, and we must form ourselves.—The King has abandoned us in detestation of his people as poisoned; and meant to carry away from us all means to help ourselves.—Moves some stronger words to be inserted in the question.



question.—That James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract, &c.

1688-9.

*Mr. Pollexfen.*

If voluntary going, and nothing more in the case, then a descent; and if so, what do you here?—If not voluntary, consider carefully on what to rest it.—All agree the throne to be vacant.

*Mr. Dolben.*

Departure voluntary sufficient.

*Sir James Oxenden.*

He went away with design to stir up all the foreign powers, so voluntary.

*Sir H. Capel.*

Inconsistency of our government with a popish head.—Queen Elizabeth laid the foundation of a protestant government.—Oath of supremacy.—Oath of allegiance.—Two principles of popery, 1st, No faith to be kept with heretics; 2d, Positive obligation to extirpate them.—Papists may be fair men, taken one with another; but when church or government concerned, they are in the power of priests.

*Sir R. Sawyer.*

Difference between an abdication and a dissolution of the government to which the argument of some leads.—What then do we here, or the second estate in the other house?—We are not the people collectively nor representatively.—We are the third estate, in the regular course, and the constitution monarchical.—Copyholders, leaseholders, &c. are the people.—Prince's declaration is for a Parliament, which supposes a constitution.—If dissolution, Lords only represent their own vote as individuals, and ought not to meet as an estate.—Not in the minds of people to dispose of crowns; but to set the government on its true bottom.—Reason why we should come here; greater part of the other house assume it to themselves to meet, on the same principle of necessity.—So the Prince and

1688-9.

nation judged it.—Writs recalled.—King withdrawn.—No possibility to come at the Parliament.—Formalities used upon a natural demise. We have no power to decide of ourselves, but must give the people's consent.—People must declare what they think of this demise.—*Quest.* Whether this departure so circumstantiated is an abdication?—Thinks so.—Several breaches precedent are certain evidences *quo animo*.—Religion interwoven with the State.—To refuse to govern according to the constitution is absolutely to disclaim the government.—And he who withdraws on such account abdicates.—Never heard of so short a reign so full of violence.—Declaration tells you what was his mind.—Putting all into the popish hands.—Suborning a Parliament.—Richard II. the only instance.—One remedy, as we judged, a Parliament.—Recalling his writs a continuation of his mind.—At liberty when beyond sea, and yet no application towards administering.

*Mr. Boscawen.*

We are supposed to be a representative, and can be nothing else.—In former proclamations it was made out, that he being a King of such a religion as he is, would do as he has done.—King gone away with his seal and child.—Throne vacant.—Should set up him who is most able to govern.—The author of all your mischiefs.—Not to fight with a bulrush.

*Sir William Pulteney.*

Crown descends not from heaven; then must come from the people.—If error to let him go, to recal him double.—Should attempt it with halts about our necks.—Crown often disposed of by Parliaments.—Dispensing power.—Bringing in foreign jurisdiction.—No wrong done if not by him.—Said to be traitorous to distinguish between power and person, but all governments depend upon it.—To take it into our consideration not to run back.—As little wrong as may be.—Consider your deliverer.

—Do

—Do what your posterity may bless you for.—Never expect  
the like game again.

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*Sir Thomas Clarges.*

Crown void has a consequence of an extraordinary nature.—To  
make an election, will turn constitution into a commonwealth.—  
The Prince took this to be a full and free representative.

*Sir William Williams.*

Every man knows King James is out of the kingdom, and in  
France.—How left it, voluntarily or by compulsion, will not  
pretend to determine.—No administration left behind him.—  
That fails.—The constitution is broken.—French interest re-  
pugnant to ours.—Is for declaring, that King James, in having  
become a Papist, and by withdrawing, has deprived the kingdom  
of the exercise of kingly government.

*Serjeant Maynard.*

Some Papists rule well, so leave it out.

*Mr. Finch.*

It is said that he has lost his crown by acts; and by going away  
has abdicated.—One consequence can result from this question,  
What it is?—If that consequence be, that the constitution is de-  
volved upon the people, few will come up to it.—If that the con-  
stitution is dissolved, believes no wise man will come up to it.—If  
to declare the throne vacant, is to say, that he has lost the inheri-  
tance, thinks even that further than any one will go.—The single  
consequence is, that James II. is not King.—Then is the throne  
filled with the next successor.—The monarchy is not elective.—  
The monarch can only forfeit for himself.—The exercise in him  
for life; cannot dispose of or resign the inheritance.—Has diffi-  
culties.—Not excuseable, what the King has done.—His going  
away does not seem a total renunciation.—We are not to send  
proposals.—That will not consist with our security.—Suppose  
the kingdom under an infant.—Security must consist in the una-

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nimous concurrence of the kingdom.—Suppose the King misinformed of the constitution, will that be a forfeiture?—King may endeavour to subvert the constitution, and so render it unsafe to live under him, because he is so easily abused.—Nation may provide for the administration in case of lunacy:—So in this case.

*Sir Thomas Lee.*

The gentleman is debating the conclusion before he has settled the premises.—The King may advise his Ministers, instead of being advised by them.

*Mr. Finch.*

Too late to debate the point I went upon, after this resolution agreed to.—If the case be, as the gentleman stated it, there is only a cessation of the exercise.

*Sir Chr. Musgrave.*

Part of the question is, That the King has subverted the constitution.—But it is clear that remains still.—No answer given to what has been said.—Demise, abdication, &c. the same things.—There is an end of that question.—The *right* and the *exercise* must be distinguished.—Have a care of deposing.—A kingdom near us \*, which, if our reasons do not satisfy, they may prove ill neighbours.—Would be clear, whether it be the intention to depose him.—If he has forfeited the inheritance, how would we supply?—If not, is under great difficulty as to declaring the throne vacant.

*Mr. Wharton.*

He is no more our King, whether he deposes himself or not.—Not for the safety of most here, that he should come back.

*Sir Chr. Musgrave.*

All are equally in danger; desire to know if the thing may be done, the King deposed?

\* Scotland.

*Sergeant*

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*Sergeant Maynard.*

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Whoever put that question, I know not his meaning; but am afraid of it.—The true question is, Whether the King has not deposed himself?—Put the case, and it will appear no new one.—All mixed government has its foundation in consent.—It is clear, that there may be transgressions, as will not amount to a forfeiture, but will prove to all that he ought to govern no longer.—The Papists pervaded all parts of government.—The whole revenue was granted to the King by Parliament for life.—What was asked in return?—Only that Popish officers might be dismissed; and we were dismissed instead of them.—If what we are doing is wrong, every man is alike guilty. We have been alike involved in the same danger.—It was come to the same pass, as Matthew Paris talks of in King John's time.—Ireland yielded up: had infatuation enough to have induced him (like that King) to make a 500 years grant of the monarchy of England.—Remembers former times of confusion; hopes these in the end will be as memorable for peace and order.—In the year 1641, Ireland filled with massacre and rebellion.—200,000 Protestants slain in a short time; 500,000 left; what must have become of these under King James?—The native Irish, because Papists, were let into all employments.—The King would have given away the soil; given up 500,000 of his subjects.—Was this like an English King? Can he sell or give away his subjects?—An Act of Parliament was made to disarm all Englishmen, whom the Lieutenant should suspect, by day or by night, by force or otherwise.—This done in Ireland for the sake of putting arms into Irish hands.—The engineer was called the King's Attorney, and bombs his *Quo warantos*.—Every Popish King, if he had power, would destroy all Protestants.—See their condition in—France,—Spain,—Hungary.—We do not depose him.—It is his own act.—If seven Bishops present

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*Sergeant*

1688-9.

an humble petition, it is prosecuted as a libel \*.—We have seen all St. Omer's in his Majesty's councils.—This design was dark, continued, uniform, to destroy the Protestant religion.—This necessarily complicated with design to destroy Protestants; to destroy Parliaments.—His religion justifies and commands this extended ruin.—The *mirror of justice* sets down the beginning of this monarchy.—A King chosen and sworn to laws, the constitution not subverted in respect to this right.—To say *abdicated* and *void*, the same thing.—If the government be abdicated, the throne is vacant.

*Sir H. Capel.*

Surprised to go on so slowly.—We could not prevent this Prince, before his time, from succeeding; now we cannot exclude him, having left us.—No constitution, which, in case of extremity, may not relieve itself.—Will you set him upon the throne?—If you limit him, and impose a regent, you alter the government.—It is said, all this was owing to ill advisers.—If those be ill that advise, those are faulty who plead for him.—You have collected the sense of the House, and are ripe for a resolution.

*Mr. Howe.*

*Mr. Harbord.*

*Sir J. Treby.*

This is a matter which requires patience and calm thought.—Question is, Whether we shall be overturned by popery and arbitrary power?—To determine whether we can depose, is to enter into a question in vain as well as dangerous.—We find the throne vacant, and do not make it so.—A worthy person intimated that the crown was on the head of somebody; and that the King went out of his wits, as with lunacy, not abdicated the government.—If so, he could have told you who wears it; what can supply the government?—Take care whilst we debate of sub-

\* Father Petre.

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tilties, and start at shadows, lest there be not a spot of ground in this country, on which a Protestant may set his foot.—It is said by another Member, that we do not represent a fourth part of the nation, because (forsooth) we are not elected by those, who have no share in the government by the constitution of it.—But is it now a question, Whether we have authority?—We have exercised the highest: disposed of the administration: appointed a thanksgiving.—The King has renounced his legal government, and fallen from it.—He that will not, or cannot exercise it according to law, is no longer King.—Two parts in government.—Commanding and obeying.—Legislative power and executive.—The dispensing power introduced into the latter, has overset the rule established by the former.—He cannot now treat with his people in parliament; has insisted on the inherent inseparable authority in the crown to dispense.—The High Commission Court would have found pretences to deprive Protestants.—The dispensing power would have filled the church with Papists in their stead.—As to the legislature,—when corporations were all dissolved, he might have named his Parliament.—Between the regulators and dragoons, a Parliament would only have represented the King or the Papists.—Where the King infringes the liberty or property of a private man, we may soothe, and pacify, and submit.—But when the fundamental laws themselves are invaded; when the malefactors who broke them are, by fraud or force, made the Parliament who frame laws: these are violations which shake off the King.—Have we then occasion to touch the question of deposing?—The highest article against Richard the Second was, that he pack'd a Parliament.—In 1607 King James the First expressed his sense clearly to the Parliament, when he said, that the King leaving off to govern according to law, ceases to be King.—It was a great argument against the exclusion bill, that no other Papists besides



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the King could be in office.—His friends answered for him, that the test law would be inviolable;—yet he pretended only to leave it in force as to the House of Commons.—When petitioned by the Peers concerning it, how loth to yield to them?—See the consequence of the credit which you gave him.—As to the motion, express it as you please.—We are without a King.—I think, in his own judgment, he is fallen from the throne.—He swore to administer the laws, which are free and Protestant.—But it seems he is under an higher obligation to break them.—Is not this to say, “My administration must be a contradiction to my office.”—Is it not a renouncing?—His actions have all spoken it.—Recall him? his obligations are the same.—His last use of the great seal was to pardon the malefactors, his advisers.—Moves to insert the words “by advice of Jesuites and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, &c.”

*Mr. Finch.*

Question, If the King has lost his title to the crown?—I think no man safe under his administration.—No safety but in the consent of the nation.—The constitution being limited, there is a good foundation for defensive arms.—It has given us right to demand full and ample security.—If there be an expedient wherein all may be secure, and all agree, that is the best.—1. We are to examine and inquire of the succession.—2. Every man must swear to it as lawful and rightful.—In the prudential part, let what must occur to you on the second head, guide you as to the first.—All would be secure; yet all cannot come up to what some of us seem inclined to determine in point of right.—Did not mean to capitulate with the King, but establish the government.—Meant a regent in which all may agree.—That which comprehends most, will be most secure.—Would declare that the King ought

ought not to be intrusted with the administration; so should be the question.

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*Sir R. Howard.*

A regency and the King are all one.—The question, as moved and amended, takes in the sense of the House.—Much is said of the succession.—But we are the people.—And threaten ourselves by ourselves when the question is asked, shall we dare to chuse? —To talk of preserving the succession as sacred, is to suppose the title of the prince.—A thing well cozened.—If he should die, the King of France will find another.

*Lord Fanshawe.*

It is said the King has withdrawn himself.—Gone away by compulsion, in my judgment.—Heard him say, That he was afraid of being seized by his own subjects.—When he was at liberty at Feversham, he came back.—Asks, if we have power to depose?—In law, King can do no wrong; for that reason ministers are called to account. No occasion for haste.

*Lord Cornbury*

Desires the question may be explained.

*Mr. Roberts.*

If the question is to have no other consequence than would follow on the King's natural demise, will go *nemine contradicente*.—*Question put in the Committee.—Three negatives.*

*Lord Colchester*

Moves to report it presently.

*Sir William Williams*

Moves the House to sit to-morrow, and receive the report.

*Sir J. Knight.*

Arms of France invading all the rights of this kingdom.—Foreign plantations.—Ireland invaded.—Would immediately have a head.

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*Mr. Wharton.*

To report immediately.

*Mr. Wogan.*

To-morrow.

*Sir Rowland Gwyn.*

Time precious, would report now.

*Sir R. Sawyer.*

To-morrow.

*Sir Walter Young.*

Immediately. May do more, now unanimous.

*Sir J. Lowther.*

Report what done to the House, and consider of it again to-morrow. For our honour to proceed deliberately.

*Mr. Medlicot.*

Security depends on dispatch.

*Sir J. Knight.*

Consider the bleeding condition of trade.

*Agreed with the Committee by all but one in the House.**Sir R. Howard*

Moves to send up the resolution to the Lords for their concurrence.

*Mr. Boscawen*

Seconds.—Mr. Hampden to carry it up.

*Resolved*, That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is vacant.

*Mr.*

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1688-9.

*Mr. Hampden in the Chair, 29th January.**Colonel Birch.*

King deposed himself.—Fear upon him from his own guilt.—Continued attempts upon our liberties.—Nothing left but the disposing of the people's money, and that challenged as a right last Parliament.—From the Spanish match downwards, Popery has been coming.—The war followed.—King Charles delivered himself from two of the estates, by never calling them together for many years.—Ship-money.—Monopolies.—I will not determine, but he brought the character of his government near to what was solemnly declared yesterday.—Popery and idolatry were at the bottom.—When the late King James would marry this Lady, I asked a great man at that time, Whether he meant to perpetuate to his family a war with the House of Commons?—Popery will not prosper but in an arbitrary and tyrannical soil.—Inconsistent, ruinous for a Protestant state to be governed by a Popish Prince.—Moves to resolve, that it is inconsistent with the safety of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince.

*Pilkington.*

Seconded.

*Sir R. Temple.*

Found by experience that the government of a Popish Prince is inconsistent with the ends of government in a Protestant kingdom.

*Sir R. Napper.*

Woeful experience.

*Sir R. Sawyer.*

Inconsistent with the interest of a Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish King.—Law ought to be made; civil and religious rights interwoven.

*Lord*

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*Lord Faulkland.*

Yesterday allowed he was King.—Nothing inconsistent with our laws.—It is no offence to refuse the test.

*Tipping.*

It has been found by experience inconsistent with the safety and welfare of a Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince.

*Sir William Williams.*

A negative on this question would be inconsistent with your vote yesterday.—Passed *nem. con.*

*Mr. Wharton.*

Yesterday the throne vacant.—All are for filling it again.—Adhere to the constitution as near as possible.—Business of the greatest weight.—Pitch on none so well as the Prince and Princess of Orange.—Making them as capable of protecting us, as may be. Philip and Mary, King and Queen; William and Mary, King and Queen of England. Moves to *supply the vacancy of the throne.*

*Sir Duncombe Colchester.*

Our being here owing to the Prince.—Gratitude to pitch upon him.—Seconds.

*Lord Faulkland.*

I hope we shall secure ourselves from arbitrary government as well as Popery.—Lay the foundation before we raise the building.—Two Kings the constitution will not bear in a joint sovereignty.—We are likewise to see what regal power is.—Never leave the dispensing power doubtful, or the high commission subsisting.—Fundamentals too may be destroyed, by corrupting Parliaments.

*Mr. Garway.*

Consider what terms must be made to provide really and effectually

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ally for our own safety.—Not deliver up those who sent us.—  
But make such provisions as may prevent future invaders.

1688-9.

*Sir William Williams.*

Settle the terms.—Would enact no new constitution, but make declaration only, and pursue the old.—If any thing amiss, find out the causes.—Then the remedies.—Then the persons fittest to administer.—The Prince's declaration states much of your grievances.—The person is the last thing to be thought of.—In the year 1660, there were many hard laws made grievous to the people.—Much enhanced the prerogative.—Corrupt judges and counsellors took courage from them.—That convention often cried out upon, for taking no better care.—King Charles II. a young man when called to the crown.—Vast sums granted.—Militia act; an antecedent question, Whether the power over it in the crown or people?—Said to be indecent, that he did not come into the crown with all its lustre at that time. But now we speak for England.—This is the time to be free, now the throne is vacant.—Corporation Act was arbitrary.—Weak and knavish judges will do knavish things.—They read none of the law books, and so read nothing to the contrary.—You have set an example of arbitrary proceeding.—Given power to levy a sum of money without Parliament.—Adhere to the ancient constitution.—We are to look beyond the conquest.—Original contract in your votes.

*Mr. Christy.*

*A Magna Charta.*—Coronation oath to preserve the protestant religion.

*Sir Richard Temple.*

Not launch into such a sea.—Three heads; 1st, Provide against encroaching on Parliaments for posterity.—Certainty of them.—Triennial bill taken away in a thin house.—Not only called to serve the ends of the crown.—That no pardons may be trumped upon us.—Election of Parliament secured, by making corporations

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tions tools.—2d, Standing army settled without consent of Parliament, though no part of constitution.—May be allowed in case of war, invasion, or rebellion.—Militia bill.—Power to disarm all England.—Now done in Ireland.—3d, Westminster-hall must be better filled, with persons who are honest, and are judges for life with fixed salaries.—Take care as to juries; sheriffs; strange fines.—As little as may be of power to be directed by the discretion of the judges, who did not decide great questions formerly, but sent them into Parliament.—That was the occasion of calling Parliaments frequently.—Let the oath of King be taken by them (the Prince and Princess of Orange) before they enter into government.—Prince has called upon you to pursue the ends of his declaration.

*Lord Ranelagh.*

Prince's declaration, a good foundation to build a settlement upon.—His letter confirms it.

*Mr Boscawen.*

Arbitrary power exercised by the Ministry.—Acts of long Parliament.—Corporation Act.—That the same with the resolution.—The most loyal or deserving, turned out.—Militia.—Imprisoning without reason; disarming.—Himself disarmed.—Trophy-money, &c.—Triennial bill.—Necessity begot it.—Nothing hindered us from going into slavery but that bill, said by Lord Chief Justice Hales.—Moves, that before the committee proceed to the nomination of any person to fill the vacancy of the throne, they will provide such things as are absolutely necessary for securing our religion, laws, and liberties.

*Sir J. Knight.*

We shall find the Papists immediately upon us.

*Serjeant Maynard.*

Two things moved.—One to fill the vacancy of the throne, the other before we fill the vacancy, to make provision for our security.



—Agree with the last part of the second question, but would not delay to supply the throne, lest, instead of an arbitrary government, we should have none.—It has been said, we must go beyond the conquest.—Puzzled to find what was law in the Saxon times; tedious and fruitless search.—Some particulars well propounded.—Some gross grievances for which we are beholden to a Parliament, who cared not what was done, so their pensions were paid.—Militia Act.—An abominable thing to disarm the nation, to set up a standing army.—Corporation Act carried into execution with a high hand.—If any man offered to stir, to remonstrate, to complain, it was cried out by some, the act of oblivion too large.—Could name them.—Acts of violence.—Corruption of judges, instead of *durante bene placito*, should be *quam diu se bene gesserint*.—But we must so take care for the future, as not to be lost at present.—The army has been corrupted formerly, may be again.—Let us not delay to set the government in motion, under whatever fair pretence, lest we give occasion to moles, who work under ground, to destroy the foundations you laid yesterday.—This is my fear, dictated by the knowledge and experience of past times; and this, as a true Englishman, who love my country better than my life.—The things mentioned are obvious in your present situation, easy to be attained.—But it is essential, and of immediate necessity there should be a King.—The law has so bound the King (whether you declare it anew or not) that he can do no wrong, unless wicked counsellors advise to break it; but in this there can be no mistake for ignorance.—You are without power, without justice, without mercy; other things require time, and admit of it.

Lord Faulkland.

Would justify myself to those who sent me hither, as not merely wanting to change hands.—Satisfaction of the people as well as army.—If we act with love of the people we shall pursue their interest.

VOL. II.

3 H

Mr.

1688-9.

*Mr. Sacheverel.*

Shall be laughed at, if not look after ourselves now.—When the Prince declares your security shall be lasting.—No man knows what he can call his own, unless you look very far back.—Disarmed and imprisoned without cause.—Scarce three laws of twenty years deserve to be continued.—Money.—Overshot themselves at that time (1660) not to do so now.—Way to have a good law abolished, if you did but name it.—Proved that many pensioners agreed for so much in the hundred for all they gave.—An old law still in force, the Parliaments shall not be prorogued, till all the grievances be redressed: when such grievances brought in here, we were sent away the next day.—Warrants to take up all Nonconformist ministers, or such as were thought to be disaffected to the government, because they endeavoured to chuse members whom they (the court) did not like.—Secure Parliaments rightly and duly chosen.—Their sitting so as not to be broken up at pleasure.—No extravagant revenue to be granted as may enable the crown to carry whom it pleases into elections.—Make false returns more penal.—Am for proceeding to these things before you fill the vacancy.

*Mr. Pollexfen.*

Whatsoever things you would declare, will not only require consideration here, but must be agreed by Lords as well as Commons.—The proposition excellent in itself, but if it have the effect to confound us, a dreadful proposition.—Am as willing as any to apply redress to grievances.—But to delay supplying the government, will restore the King.—View the present condition of the kingdom.—If this should go beyond sea, that we are bounding the kingly power, before there is one to assume the exercise, what consequence will it have?—Unless jealous of friends, your worst enemies cannot hinder you from coming to a settlement.—See what delay is doing.—This month has lost one King.—The army ready to mutiny.—Every factious interest will run in there.—Fear  
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1688-9.

of Popery has united; when that is over, we shall divide again.——  
 It was thought impossible formerly that Popery should come here.——  
 King James long since seemed to declare, "That cannot be done till I  
 am King."——As to the Prince and Princess of Orange; you have no  
 reason to mistrust good words, unless it be accompanied with ill ac-  
 tions.——But their actions abroad give me reason to believe them  
 really Protestants.——His declaration speaks the same thing.——  
 His actions confirm it.——He might have taken the crown, instead  
 of leaving us in debate.——You have no laws till there is a King.  
 ——Those who prevailed by arms, in the late times, in coming to  
 a constitutional government, ruined themselves.——If Oliver had  
 settled into a government, he might have saved his party.——We  
 busied ourselves about a bill of exclusion some time since.——Some  
 for that bill; others for limitations.——We talked so long about it,  
 that we were sent away without doing any thing.——Will there be  
 less talk now on these points of right?——Besides, your terms may  
 be such at last, that when you come to offer the crown with new li-  
 mitations, not known before, it may be rejected.——Common de-  
 struction will overtake us, whilst we debate these things, without  
 the protection of a legal government.

*Lord Faulkland.*

No doubt of the Prince and Princess of Orange.——What is  
 done by us before the offer of the crown will be no argument of  
 distrust.——What has been felt in the two last reigns is a sufficient  
 ground for us to proceed.

*Mr. Garway.*

Somewhat must be done.——Many things named.——Represent  
 our sense to him.——That it may be passed hereafter into laws.

*Sir Edward Seymour.*

Good things often suffer by overdoing.——Not for making new  
 laws, but declaring old.——Declare against dispensing power; power

1688-9.

of Westminster Hall.—Great part of the revenue depends on the demise of the King.—Can we dispose of a crown, and not have power to secure ourselves?—Not live like a slave in England.—Administration is in the Prince's hands.—Consider the end of your meeting.

*Sir T. Lee.*

The objection is spending long time.—Amongst others, this opinion should be exploded, That the King can raise what forces he thinks fit in England, provided he can pay them.—He who first broached this doctrine, obtained a great place in judicature.

*Sir T. Clarges.*

Necessary something should be done for common safety, and to pursue the Prince's desires.—Moves, that a committee may be appointed to draw up some heads to be presented to our chief governor, when declared.

*Colonel Birch.*

If the Prince of Orange would live till we are all dead, we might hope for safety under him.—Our security must be in settling the government whilst we have him.—Yet the discontents will rise much higher, if you do not do somewhat beside filling the throne.—As to the time, it cannot take a day, only to mention them as heads.—We have resolved to fast to-morrow (30th of January) we know what we fast for.—We have often sat on the Lord's day.—May take up our thoughts to-morrow.—Some such declaration will give you more strength and credit.—By way of addition to what has been observed on that head, think hearth-money a badge of slavery.—The taking away of that law will bring him more strength than twenty armies.—The question, as just moved, is not too general; may trust ourselves.

*Mr. J. Hampden.*

We make free thus to act for a nation not tied by oaths.—Know, time presses.—They will ask why the King has abdicated

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the government.—If you declare the constitution, it will be no law that can bind.—Have looked into the journals, and find the convention in 1660, was of King, Lords, and Commons.

1688-9.

*Sir William Pulteney.*

Difficulties on each hand.—Would have a committee appointed to draw up heads.

*Mr. Dolben*

Has a reason for dispatch in his hand.—Letter from a noble Lord in Ireland, that just ready to execute.

*Mr. Harbord.*

Nobody will go farther for maintaining the constitution.—A principal thing is to make examples of those who broke it.—Security infallible.—The revenue is gone by the vacancy.—Cannot these things be doing in the mean time that you settle the government?—The Dutch are calling home their troops with impatience.—Factions in the army.—If these break out, where are all your laws and declarations?—Preserve your government.—It is the sword of a King must protect you.

*Sir R. Sawyer.*

Some complain of laws; some of the transgression of the laws.—Offences punishable in Parliaments, and in ordinary courts.—Great offences are to be punished in Parliament.—No provision.—Would you make another contract with your Prince than your ancestors have done?—Nothing can be done till it is debated.—Are you satisfied the laws are good?—Declare no power of suspending; and that Parliament shall sit some stated time.—Work cut out, will employ several weeks.

*Sir R. Temple.*

Go on presently to declare the necessary heads.—Convention of 1660, which brought in the King made several acts.

*Sir*

1688-9.

*Sir T. Littleton.*

Soon agreed in two things.—1st, To fill the government.—  
2d, To secure our liberties.—This may be done in a little time  
by naming the heads.—Refer it to a committee.

*Sir J. Guise.*

When fill up *vacancy*, the same time present a declaration.  
—Appoint a committee, and at the same time proceed to nomi-  
nate.

*Sir Charles Musgrave.*

No power to appoint a committee.—Restrain your question.—  
Cannot answer it to the nation or Prince of Orange, till we declare  
what are the rights invaded.—When you declare your grievances,  
every man will take them to be the reason of your vote yesterday.—  
Make your wheels before you put the cart on.—Declare your an-  
cient government, then set it up.—Motion, that before the com-  
mittee proceed to nominate a person to fill the throne, That the  
House be moved to appoint a committee to bring in general heads.

*Mr. Garroway.*

An essay has been collected by a worthy gentleman.

*Mr. Pollexfen*

Reads a paper.—Unless Parliaments regulated, no security.—  
Clause about pardons to be added.

*Sir H. Capel.*

Parliament so truly English.—No prejudice to the crown in  
taking care of our properties.—Security to it.—The crown in-  
debted to the proceedings of this day.—Two witnesses to one  
fact in treason.

*Sir William Williams.*

Collect a question.

*Sir R. Hobart.*

Extravagant bail.—Lord Lieutenants.

*Lord*

Exorbitant fines.

*Lord Faulkland.*

The paper only an essay.

*Colonel Birch.*

King's Bench.

*Sir H. Temple.*

Council in cases of treason and felony.

*Tipping.*

To proceed to nominate, looks like election.

*Ettrick.*

Mr. Poley

Seconds it, not to use the word nominate, as it comes so near electing, in the question about supplying the vacancy.

*Mr. Sacheverel.*

Declare is too much; the Lords may quarrel.

*Sir J. Lowther.*

If you make such declaration before vacancy supplied, may admit of another construction abroad, and in France, than intended here.

—Of equal use to you to make such declaration without notice taken, of intention to supply afterwards. So leave out the first part of the question.

*Jephson.*

Give no occasion to enemies abroad.

*Medlicot.*

Declare instead of nominate.—Passed *nem. con.*

*Lord Faulkland.*

Now ready to nominate your committee.—Move the House that the gentlemen of the long robe may proceed.

*Sir Thomas Clarges.*

Intention that no such thing should be done.—Ordered to report the vote to the House, That it is the opinion of the committee that it is inconsistent with the safety, &c.



1688. 9.

*Mr. Hampden*

Reports, First resolution, *nam. con.* To appoint a committee to bring in general heads of such things as are absolutely necessary to be considered for the better securing of our religion, and laws, and liberties.

*Sir H. Capel*

Moved to add these words, To the end that we may more speedily proceed to fill up the vacancy of the throne.

*Mr. Sacheverel.*

No reason for it.—Moves to desire the concurrence of the Lords to the first vote.

*Mr. Hampden*

To carry it up.—Naming the committee, every one to stand up.

*Sir Joseph Tredenham.*

Exorbitances of *Westminster Hall* most complained of.—Not to go upon general words of the long robe.

*Mr. Howe.*

May be, some of the gentlemen of the long robe guilty.

*Lord Dunblain.*

Long robe as great a grievance as any.

*Mr. Harbord.*

Committee to meet to-morrow about eight o'clock in the speaker's chambers.

*Mr. Jephson.*

Great business on our hands. To sit to-morrow.

*Lord Wiltshire.*

Defer filling up the vacancy no longer than the House needs must. Sit to-morrow.

*Lord Ranelagh.*

Not to sit to-morrow; keep acts of Parliament, not break them.—Committee appointed to meet to-morrow.

*Mr.*

STATE PAPERS.

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*Mr. Levison Gower.*

1688-9.

Reflection to fit to-morrow, so it would be not to fit at all.—  
Hope they will dispatch by that time, and we to fit to-morrow at  
two o'clock.

*Lord Faulkland.*

*Sir J. Guise.*

Seconded.

*Sir R. Napper.*

*Mr. Boscarwen.*

*Sir R. Howard.*

Nothing disingenuous.—Agreed to fit to-morrow at two  
o'clock.

VOL. II. 3 I

Mr.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1693.

*Lord Nottingham to Lord Keeper Somers.*

My Lord,

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty has appointed Mr. Ward to be his Attorney General, that your Lordship may give directions for the dispatch of his patent. When I waited on your Lordship, you mentioned my Lord Powis's house \*, as being convenient for you. I do not remember whether your Lordship said, that the King had given any orders in it; and therefore I spoke to the Queen of it this morning; and her Majesty is well pleased to let you have it; and I shall accordingly acquaint the Lords of the Treasury, so that you need not think of any other house.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's,  
most humble and faithful servant,

March 1693.

NOTTINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper Somers.

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*Lord Keeper Somers to King William.*

Sent to the King at Harwich.

May it please your Majesty,

March 27th, 1693.

IT is no small misfortune to me, that before I enter upon the execution of the great trust with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour me, I should find myself under the necessity of giving your Majesty a trouble in relation to it.

\* Then in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, afterwards Newcastle House.

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Nothing but the utmost concern for your service could have brought me to do it now, or shall ever hereafter lead me to do the like.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1693.

My Lord Nottingham, since your departure, has told me Sir William Rawlinson is to be chief Baron; Sir William Wogan, Chief Justice of Chester; and Mr. Ward, Attorney General.

Your Majesty having laid no commands on me relating to any of them; I think it my duty, before I act any thing in this matter, with all humility to represent to your Majesty what consequence it may have.

The lawyers being spread over every part of the kingdom, and having a great influence among the people, the method used to unite them in their service to the crown, has been by obliging them to a dependance upon the Great Seal, for their promotion, where they merited. This has always given a weight to that office in public affairs; and, if I understand your Majesty right, the making the Great Seal thus considerable, was one of the effects you expected, from placing it in a single hand. But I submit to your Majesty, how far this is likely to succeed, or any other of your Majesty's ends be answered, if such eminent offices are disposed of, in such a manner, at my entrance on this charge.

I do not meddle with any considerations of the persons themselves, though I know not but your Majesty might expect it from me; and it may not be improper to observe to your Majesty, how much it has been to the honour of your reign, that your Judges have been of known ability in the law; and that it is the particular concern of the crown, that the Chief Baron should be experienced in the course of the Exchequer, and knowing in the Common Laws.

As to the place of the Attorney, your Majesty having been pleased to express your purpose to advance Sir Thomas Trevor to that office, to several persons, it was not in my power to make it a secret, and

WILLIAM  
III.  
1693.

your Majesty having divers times commanded me to find out a Solicitor, I was under the necessity of proposing it to Mr. Ward, whom I thought a fit man, before I could name him to your Majesty; and so that could not be concealed.

This being the case, let me humbly offer it to your Majesty's consideration, whether, if the passing these patents must be the first use I am to make of the Seal, it can be supposed I have that credit which ought always to go along with it, and without which it is impossible it should reach any part of what your Majesty aimed at in the change.

Your Majesty will bear me witness, that I had a just prospect of the difficulties of this charge; and that nothing but a perfect resignation to your Majesty, together with a gracious assurance of your support, engaged me to enter upon it. Upon this support, I do and must depend; and whatever your Majesty might expect from the seal in my hand, must fail, if there be any the least want of it.

Having discharged my duty in this faithful representation to your Majesty; I lay the seal and myself at your Majesty's feet, with an entire submission to your will and pleasure. I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, most

obedient, and most humble subject and servant,

J. SOMERS\*.

\* Notwithstanding this letter, Mr. Ward after, on his promotion, Sir Thomas Trevor was made Attorney General; but not long was appointed to that office.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1695.

*Letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, with  
the Warrant to be a Baron.*

My Lord,

I HAD his Majesty's commands last night to have waited on your Lordship this morning with the inclosed; but being informed that you are not at home, I take the liberty to send it you. I had directions to have said every thing I could imagine to persuade you to accept of a title, and the King is really convinced it is for his service you should. I beg the answer I may have, may be a bill for the King's signing. As for arguments, I have used all I have already; and by your objections, you may give me leave to tell you, that you are as partial and unreasonable with too much modesty, as some are with too much ambition. I hope you will not only pardon me for telling you your fault, but that you will correct it, and believe me with great truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

May 8, 1695.

SHREWSBURY.

*Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

14th April, 1697.

I AM extremely sorry for your Lordship's indisposition, but hope it will not prove so troublesome, as a quartan ague often does.

My Lord Sunderland and I were attending on the king, when your letter came: his Majesty discoursed with us on the several heads we had formerly mentioned; but deferred coming to any resolutions till your Lordship could be present.

The

WILLIAM  
III.  
1697.

The naming a deputy or deputies for Ireland was the first point considered. Lord Sunderland named only my Lord Villiers, and it had as quick a negative. Then I perceived he looked upon me, and expected I should name my Lord Wharton. I paused some time; but being pressed by the King to name some person, I said I had two in my thoughts; the first, I knew, was very desirous to go, had very particularly deserved well of his Majesty, and was in great straits in his fortune, and that was my Lord Winchester; the second, I was confident every body would agree to be fit, but I could not be sure how agreeable it would be to his inclinations, and that was my Lord Wharton. The King objected to my Lord Winchester's qualifications, but agreed to the other arguments I had used for his being qualified; but wished it might be done some other way. Lord Sunderland agreed entirely with the first part of his Majesty's discourse; but said not so much as I expected to the second. Then the King came to consider my Lord Wharton, and spoke of him with very particular kindness and esteem; but he could not imagine he would be easy in being one of three; that he was sure, when he reflected my Lord Capell had been alone, it was impossible he should, even though at this time it might satisfy him; yet that thought would change him; and, said he, "My Lord Wharton has very good parts, but I think no more of his liking to be one of three in Ireland, than I should to have two joined to me here." No resolution was taken on this point. But I said, I thought my Lord Wharton might be tried how it would please him; so that I think that affair is in a posture to receive what turn shall be thought fit to give it.

Mr. Wharton was agreed to be in the Admiralty without difficulty, and Mr. Pelham in the Treasury. Some objections were made by the King to Mr. Montague's being first in the commission; but not long insisted on. Then his Majesty acquainted us, there would be one vacancy more, if not two at the Board; Mr. Smith having

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asked an audience of the King, and told Lord Portland, he was resolved to resign; and the same was expected from Sir Stephen Fox, though nothing lately had been said of it. We, being unprepared to offer others for the Treasury, were directed to consider further of it.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1697.

Then his Majesty said, some alterations were necessary in the customs and excise; and particularly named Sir Robert Clayton as one who neither attended the Board, nor encouraged his service in the city, by loan or subscription; and upon that occasion declared, that several had so behaved themselves this session, that if no punishment were made, no government could be expected for the future; and said, This must not be extended partially to one kind of men, but some should be displaced of different denominations. In general, I agreed with this; but submitted, that a distinction was reasonable to be made between persons who had done wrong only once through ignorance, and those who, in the whole course of business, had continually opposed. This argument met with so cold a reception, that I think it is not hard to guess what was meant by that speech; though I think if it be intended against Sir Walter Young and Mr. Clarke, we are obliged (I am sure I think myself so) to stand by them. This sort of discourse naturally brought on that of my Lord President\*, &c. and I was surprised to find how easy the King was in parting with him, and his consequences. He said, the whole family of the Berties were against him, and declared himself not satisfied even with the Vice-Chamberlain; but Lord Sunderland excused him. I perceive all that, as to the Vice-Chamberlain, is so prepared that it may be done as shall be thought best.—I have given your Lordship this long account, because a meeting will very soon be pressed by my Lord Sunderland. It were very convenient, your Lordship, Mr. Russell, Mr. Montague, and myself, could have half

\* Duke of Leeds.

an

WILLIAM  
III.  
1698.

37<sup>th</sup> hour's discourse first; but how possible that is with your other  
business must be submitted, by,

My Lord,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

SHREWSBURY.

*From the Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

Eyford, Oct. 15, at night, 1698.

THE Lords Justices of Ireland having wrote to me to the same effect they have to your Lordship, their reasons for what they desire seem strong to me; since, as they state the case, the King's prerogative would be asserted by the linen bill, and the woollen trade would be regulated by the heads the Commons are preparing in Ireland; and by the method they propose, the success of this session would be unquestionable; which, in the other, I presume is very hazardous, and the miscarriage of the session will be imputed to this woollen bill's being crammed down their throats, which (as it is represented) they are willing to swallow, to the same effect in their own way. And if it should be suspected, that the Parliament in Ireland should not be sincere in their intentions in proposing effectual heads for a woollen bill, one may be framed in the Council of Ireland, and approved here; and so might be transmitted with an order from hence, to be observed in case the other were too long delayed, but with a liberty to the Lords Justices in Ireland, to defer presenting it, in case they should pass another, proceeding originally from the Parliament there, which would be as effectual and more likely to pass.

SHREWSBURY.

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\* From the  
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VOL. I

*Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury\*.*WILLIAM  
III.  
1698.

MY LORD,

I AM extremely glad of the favour of your Grace's letter by Mr. Stone, because it would give me a pretence of troubling you with a letter, which I have wished for a good while.

Since that, Mr. Secretary \* shewed me a letter of your Grace's to him upon the same subject. I apprehended your thoughts to be the same, as they appeared to be by the second letter.

The chancellor † of Ireland wants extremely some pretence, whereupon to lay the blame of the miscarriage of this session. He alone advised it, and undertook it; unless it be true, which some say, that my Lord Coningsby went into it at last, and thereby deserved the whole office of paymaster.

Whether that be so or not, I do not know, but the undertaking of the former, did not only give him a great credit, all the last year, but has drawn the King into all the inconveniencies, which an abrupt session, the sending the French troops into Ireland, and the disappointment of their being provided for there, may probably bring upon us.

The council had passed both the bills a week before I heard there would be the least opposition to either; so that it was not possible to forbear to send them; but they are transmitted under two distinct Great Seals, that so they may be at liberty to act as they please, in offering them to the House of Commons; with a letter to the Privy Council of Ireland, to put them in mind, that the bill for impositions on the woolen manufacture did not arise from hence; that we never heard of it, till the Chancellor proposed it to the justices here, as the proper Money Bill to be offered, to exclude the sole right,

\* From the contents of this letter, it appears to have been written towards the close of the year 1698.

\* Vernon.

† Methuen.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1698.

and as a thing agreed to by the gentlemen in Ireland; and that the Lords Justices then told him, they would not pretend to give any opinion of a matter, which was only proper for the Lords Justices and council of Ireland, who knew mens thoughts of such a bill.

The letter further adds, That the justices have had no opinion of the bill; the duties laid by it being in no sort sufficient to bring the manufactures of the two Kingdoms to a par; so that if they should be of opinion, that the bill for encouraging the linen manufacture was such a money bill, as would secure the King's prerogative, which they knew was all that the King expected from them, they might act as they pleased.

The bill imposes some pecuniary penalties indeed, which of late the House of Commons in England, in their disputes with the Lords, call a Money Bill; but surely the Commons in Ireland did never think of carrying their sole right so far. It does also empower the Grand Juries in the several counties, to assess a sum for building work-houses. If that would make it a Money Bill, there were many Money Bills passed in England last winter; but there is not any thing granted to the King by the bill.

We have also sent the letter from the privy-council to the king, with a desire of knowing his pleasure upon the whole, as to the sending orders into Ireland.

How much is reasonably to be expected from the House of Commons, your Grace will judge by the last letter; for they have voted a supply of a hundred and thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight pounds, which will go but a little way towards paying an establishment, which the King intended should be offered to them (though it be not) reaching to three hundred thousand pounds, as to the military part only. Yet the attempt for an address to disband the French regiments, though it was carried against it by twenty-nine votes, and the opposition the other matter had in the

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Committee and the House, where it was carried for agreeing with the Committee by twenty voices, seem, in my thoughts, to forbode but very ill.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1698.

I ask your pardon for having troubled you so long with Ireland; but I hope your Grace's letter will help me, in some sort, to an excuse. Forgive me, if I add one thing more, which is, That it has been long my opinion, that this nation was not likely to see that kingdom tolerably settled, unless we could see your Grace at the head of it.

I do not repeat this with any impertinent design of drawing you from your present retirement till you think fit; much less to be suggesting it to others, to renew their importunities, which have made you very uneasy.

But I hope you will give me leave to beg your advice, what part I am to act upon the King's coming home. I own myself to be entirely at a loss, what is to be aimed at. It is as yet uncertain, what will be the temper of the Parliament. The elections were made on an ill foot; uneasiness at taxes, and the most dangerous division of a court and country party; so that there is reason to doubt of the behaviour of many of your best friends.

The King would in no sort declare himself before he went: I suppose, to see which faction would get the better upon the struggle. Whether he will not sit still upon the same reason, till he sees the event of the session, is hard to say.

At present he is without any thing, which has the appearance of a ministry. The plain consequence of which is, that every body, (seeing the little credit those have who serve him) is in a manner, invited to endeavour to ruin or expose them.

If one could have his wish, it is very hard to find men to supply even present vacancies; especially considering the King's prejudices to some, and his fondness for others, and the power which my Lord

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1698.

Sunderland still has. There is nothing to support the Whigs, but the difficulty of his piecing with the other party; and the almost impossibility of finding a set of Tories, who will unite.

So that, in the end, I conclude it will be a pieced business, which will fall asunder immediately.

The case of Mr. Montague\*, I fear, will have a very ill effect for us. I wish it may end well for himself. It was very suddenly done, nor do I know how the King takes it. If he quits the treasury, I see no body likely to succeed, who will go on in the same way; and if he keeps both places, it will add much to that envy, which is already too strong.

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*Mr. Montague † to Lord Somers:*

My Lord,

‡ May 2, 1700.

I CAME to town last night upon a very extraordinary occasion; and finding you out of town, must give you an account of it. After I had taken my leave of the Duke of Shrewsbury, which was at dinner, he sent to speak with me. He seemed much surprized with a letter he had just received from Mr. Secretary §, which he shewed me. In it Mr. Secretary tells him, that Lord Sunderland has found out a method, whereby the seal may again be put into your hands; that my Lord Sunderland would have acquainted him with it, if he could have seen him on Tuesday (for he was then sick) and desired he would stay till to-morrow at Hampton-Court, that he might inform him of it. He advised with me what he should do; he had taken leave of the King, and had no pretence to stay. This

\* Mr. Montague resigned his seat at the treasury-board, to accept the auditor's office, with his friends, was deservedly blamed for it.  
 † Afterwards Lord Halifax.  
 ‡ Lord Somers was removed at the end of the preceding month.  
 § Vernon.

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seems only like a shift of Lord Sunderland to lessen the odium; and to be an attempt you probably would not like. I did not know what to make of it; but upon the best consideration I then had, I made no great account of the proposal; advised him to go to Wobourn, and to write to Mr. Secretary, to explain the proposition; and, if he thought fit, to let me know what it was; and promised that, if he did, and I thought it likely to succeed, I would come over there to-morrow night, and fetch him to finish it.

This he approved, and wrote immediately to the Secretary; and, before he went away, sent the inclosed to me. I know not what to make of all this; only one thing is plain, that it is not settled who is to succeed you. I am come to town only to tell you this, and shall return to-morrow morning. I should be glad of a line from you, if you think there is any occasion for it. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, and most obedient servant,

CHA. MONTAGUE.

*Duke of Bolton to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

Sept.

ACCORDING to my promise, this is to acquaint you with what passed between the Duke of Shrewsbury and me. As we went to Mr. Montague's, he took an opportunity of opening himself, and introduced it by saying, That if my Lord Rochester came in, he believed he should press to have the Duke of Ormond go for Ireland, but that the King himself was averse to it of all things. So then he spoke as to himself, and made all the asseverations in the world, that he never asked to go; but that the King set my Lord Sunderland, Mr. Secretary Vernon, and my Lord Coningsby to persuade



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persuade him to it; and being resolved to quit his white staff, the King made him a great many compliments, and said that he would not have him quite desert his service; and asked him, if he would go into Ireland; and he answered, That his health would not permit him: So then the King told him, he, may be, might be better in the country, so desired him to consider of it; so, he said, to be easy, he said he would. That as soon as he came into the country, and heard the change that was, he immediately wrote to the King, that he could not go for Ireland: so upon this, I told my Lord, that, upon the grounds I writ him, I thought sufficient for my suspicion, and that I had one thing more to confirm me; which was, that my Lord Gallway writ me word, that the King had writ to him, that he had resolved to send his Lordship into Ireland, and that he had accepted of it. He owned, that my Lord Gallway writ the same to him. I think his great business was to load me with strong assurances of his friendship (which I am persuaded of, if it does not interfere with his designs) though I am apt to believe, from words that he let fall, that he has still thought of Ireland. We talked of other things in general; and, in particular, I mentioned your affair; and he laboured mightily to convince me, that my Lord Sunderland had no hand in the doing of it; and said, that my Lord Sunderland came to him, and was the most surprised in the world at its being done in this manner; and that my Lord Sunderland would have had the King send for your Lordship, and have told you, that, if you could have preceeded a scheme to carry on his business, and preserve yourself, he would come into it; and upon this, it was supposed you would have quitted.

I am very glad, for your sake (since so fatal a stroke was to be) that it was done in the manner it was.

I find my Lord Shrewsbury goes, some time this month, to Althorp, and told me there was always a good correspondence there between them, which he should continue, and not meddle with

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other people. And said, he believed that Lord \* would never join with the Tory party; for he was sure his language was, at this very time, otherwise; and he thought it was now high time to change his note, if he had any such thoughts. My Lord Shrewsbury was to go to-day for London; and he told me, just as we parted, that he would be in Hampshire again in a week or ten days. I must beg pardon for this long letter; but, it being in obedience to your commands, I hope you will pardon me, and commit this to the flames when you have read it; and be assured I am, without reserve, and with great truth and respect,

Most faithfully yours,

Sept. 1700.

BOLTON.

*To Lord Somers.*

P. S. I cannot help troubling your Lordship with a thought. It looks as if Lord Sunderland was not so much dissatisfied with your being displaced, as he represented himself in the conversation with the Duke of Shrewsbury some time before the King was to leave England. His complaint was, I find, that the method of doing it was not his; and that he thought it strange (as all the world did) to displace you, and not have somebody ready to put in; and was in hopes of finding a way to make your Lordship resign; which, he is in the right, must have been better for the King's affairs, as they designed it, but infinitely to your prejudice. So that I think my Lord Shrewsbury has shewed himself; and his justification of my Lord Sunderland, in this affair, rather turned it harder upon him with me.

I tell your Lordship this out of the unalterable friendship and respect I have for you, that, in whatever commerce or acting there may be with your Lordship and my Lord Shrewsbury, you may know better what foot to act upon. I beg the continuance of your friend-

\* Lord Sunderland.

ship;

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ship; and you may depend on all the faithful services that your humble servant is capable of.

B.

My Lord Shrewsbury says, he believes the king undetermined either as to his measures in his ministry, or as to a new Parliament. It will not be resolved on until the King's return, which I find is to be about the 13th of the next month; and the Parliament is to be prorogued to the 17th. But these things you will know of a certainty: and as for my own part, I will be watchful in the corporations where I have any thing to do.

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*Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers.*

Rome, 17th June, 1701.

WHEN first I received the news of the proceedings against your Lordship, and the rest of the Lords, I had writ a letter to you, and to my Lord Hallifax, upon that subject. But reflecting, before they were sent, what had happened, some time before, upon my Lord Bellamont's letters, I thought it more advisable to burn mine than to send them; and not daring, at this distance, to write all I wished to say, I chose rather to be silent for a time; being then in expectation it would not be long before I should wait upon you in England. But this last relapse, with the assistance of very ill weather, and not a little spleen, has proved so obstinate, that I have not been able to get the better of it, with the help of a vast quantity of vitriol, which I have taken these last eight days, in hopes to patch me up for a journey; in so much that I am feverish, with several other bad symptoms, and am forced to quit this remedy. This state of my health making it very doubtful, when I shall return to England, I can no longer omit assuring your Lordship of my most sincere concern for what has happened. The

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above-mentioned caution hinders me from all I have a mind to say; only I conclude, for good reasons, that no trial now, or at any other time, will follow upon the charge against you. Though this, I know, is a mortification to you, yet you may comfort yourself with the thought, that in a little time mankind will come to itself, and learn truth and justice; but, however, I cannot help referring to my old opinion, which is now supported with more weight than I ever expected; and wonder that a man can be found in England, who has bread, that will be concerned in public business.

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1701.

Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler, than a courtier; and a hangman, than a statesman.

I have constant relations from Mr. Yard, of matters of fact; but, at this distance, those accounts cannot be so exact or particular, as to give a true light how affairs stand. If I could be serviceable to your Lordship, Lord Hallifax, and even my Lord Orford, by writing to any friends, or by coming myself, if you think that useful to you, there is nothing in my power, I should not be ready to do, that might shew how sincerely I am concerned for you, how much I value your friendship, and with what esteem and truth I will ever remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

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1701.

*Princess Sophia to Mr. Stepney\*.*

[Transcribed from the original, in Lord Somers's Hand.]

MONSIEUR,

J'AI lu avec bien du plaisir le livre & vostre lettre. Je voudrois que les raisonnemens du premier fussent aussi vraisemblables, comme l'autre est obligeante pour moi, & que je pourrois vivre assez long temps, pour avoir lieu de reconnoître par des services, l'affection que vous me temoignez, sans deroger un moment de vos années, dont vous me paraissez vouloir estre trop liberal. La complaisance ne pourroit aller plus loin, et vous ne pourriez rien dire de plus obligeant pour moi, dont je vous dois une reconnoissance infinie; aussi bien que de tout ce que vous m'ecrivez.

Si j'étois trente années plus jeune, j'aurois assez bonne opinion de mon sang & de ma religion, pour croire, qu'on penseroit à moy en Angleterre. Mais comme il y a peu d'apparence, que je survive à deux personnes †, beaucoup plus jeunes, quoique plus malades que moi, il est à craindre, qu'après ma mort, on regardera mes fils comme des estrangers, & dont l'aîné est bien plus accoutumé à trancher en souverain que le pauvre prince de Galles, qui est trop jeune pour profiter de l'exemple du Roy de France, et qui seroit apparemment si aisé de recouvrir ce que le Roy son pere a inconsidérément perdu, qu'on feroit avec luy tout ce que l'on voudroit. Mais la Prevention fait tout en Angleterre; et pour me tenir à ce que vous en dites, sans m'embarquer à raisonner par lettres, je vous dirai que ma fille m'a entraînée icy ‡, ou elle a pris les eaux 3 semaines, et que

\* Though this letter has no date, the contents prove that it was written in the summer of 1701.

† The King and princess Anne.

‡ Pyrmont.

nous

nous partirons lundi pour nous rendre par Bruxelles en Hollande, ou nous aurons l'honneur de voir le Roy.

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1701.

Je ne suis pas si philosophe, ou si étourdie, comme vous pouvez croire, que je n'aime entendre parler d'une couronne, et que je ne fasse réflexion sur ce jugement solide que vous faites sur ce sujet. Il me semble, qu'en Angleterre, il y a tant de Factions, qu'on ne puisse être assurée de rien. Cela n'empêche pas, que je ne dois être fort obligée à Ceux qui témoignent de l'affection pour moi et pour mes Descendans, dont je vous dois en particulier tenir compte toute ma vie; et je trouve qu'il y a beaucoup de plaisir d'être redevable à une personne de votre mérite, à qui on aime de l'être.

SOPHIE ELECTRICE.

A Monsieur Monsieur Stepmey,  
à Londres.

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*King William to Lord Sunderland\*.*

Loo, September the 1st, 1701.—Received the 10th.

WE are extremely concerned not to have heard from you, and it is earnestly desired you would inform us, what condition things are in, what people say, and that you would give your advice upon it. It is very much unresolved what measures to take. He fears †, if he should quit those he now employs, and that the others should not be able to serve him, that he shall then have no resource. This inclines him to try again, what the present ministers and their party will do; with a resolution to change upon the

\* King William was at this time in the hands of the Tories. The correspondence of the Whigs. relates to a change in the ministry, in favour of the Whigs.  
† The king.  
that now follows in 1701, between him, Robert Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Somers,

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1701.

first occasion they shall give. He is undetermined, whether he should call a new Parliament; the Tories giving him great hopes, and making him great promises. He is advised to offer an act of grace at the meeting of the Parliament, as a means of reconciling matters. Upon the whole, he earnestly desires you will give your opinion, and as soon as possible.

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*Answer by Lord Sunderland.*

September the 11th, 1701.

EVERY thing here is much as when you left England; only the ministry grows more hated every day, and more exposed. But since you desire to know the thoughts of people, you shall; though what is said or writ of this kind is seldom kept secret, which is so unpleasant, that if any word of this paper should be trusted to any person whatsoever, except — and — there is for ever an end of this and all the like commerce. It is said, the King † is persuaded still to try the same party, and the same ministers; because, if he changes and fails, there will be no resource; which is as much as to say, continue in the hands of your enemies, for if they do not save you, you may return to your friends, who will; which is a sort of reason which ought not to be answered, but hissed. But the argument may be carried further; as that if the King employs the Whigs, and they cannot or will not help him, he may always be welcome to the others, whenever he will alter the Lieutenancy of London, break the ecclesiastical commission, and that party in the House of Lords who last session declared themselves against France; and, in short, give up the whole power to them.

† Here and in many other places in the original was left a blank, by which it is plain, was meant the King; and it has been filled up accordingly.



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III.  
1701.

Another dangerous opinion the King is led into by flims and lies, that, if those he now depends on do not act as they promise, he can try new measures in the middle of a session, which is impossible; and that he must know, if he pleases to reflect. He will be wheedled, and complimented, and cheated, and at the latter end ruined. Can he forget how the Tories agreed to the ten thousand men, and the address to enter into alliances with the emperor? Was it not because it would have been done without them, and that they were frightened out of their wits, and to oblige him to thank them at last, that they might go into the country with safety? Are not their promises on the same account, and because they dread a new Parliament? Can he forget the pains that were taken after the King of Spain's death, to persuade the world, that all was well, and nothing would be so fatal as a war? What a fine speech was made for him at the opening of the Parliament; four months after the King of Spain died, and a fortnight after the French were actually possessed of Flanders? Or that, during the sessions, the ministers told him every day, they nor their party never would come into a war, of which mind they are so much now, that yet they continue to say it will undo us? And if they are any ways forced into it, it will be with a design of raising money, which shall both be insufficient, and laid so as to be the most uneasy to the people that is possible. But to what purpose is it, so much as to think of any thing of this kind, when, after a thirteen years experience, the King will not judge right of things he knows, but will be undone infallibly by believing himself more cunning than a whole party, by whom he is beset, and who wheedles him every day; and of which, in his whole reign, he never yet could gain any one man? The King ought to consider, that, most luckily for him, the whole mo-

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III.

1701.

derate church party, who are not Jacobites, are joined with the Whigs; but he will be deceived, if he reckons they will help to establish this ministry, which they think would ruin England, and hang them.

Some would have the King to offer an act of indemnity, at the first meeting of the Parliament, whoever are ministers; and it may do well, though neither party will like it. For the Tories will not be satisfied without ruining my Lord Somers, nor the Whigs without undoing the ministers; in which the latter think they have the whole nation on their side. But at last, what can the King do? He must certainly do what may determine him to take his measures. For example; let him come into England as soon as he can, and immediately send for my Lord Somers. He is the life, the soul, and the spirit of his party, and can answer for it; not like the present ministers, who have no credit with theirs, any further than they can persuade the King to be undone. When his majesty speaks to my Lord Somers, he ought to do it openly and freely; and ask him plainly, what he and his friends can do, and will do, and what they expect, and the methods they would propose. By this the King will come to make a judgment of his affairs; and he may be sure, that my Lord Somers will desire nothing for himself, or any of the impeached Lords, but will take as much care not to perplex the King's business, as can be desired; and if he can do nothing his majesty shall like, he will remain still zealous and affectionate to his person and government.

This is thought to be the best way the King can take; and perhaps the only means of being able to resolve with reason. It should be considered, that by the present ministry, the Tories have  
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infinitely lost their credit, and the others have in proportion gained. It is a melancholy thing, that the King, who has more understanding than any body who comes near him, is imposed on by mountebanks, or by such as, he himself knows, hate both his person and his government!

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

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*From Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.*

Sept. 15.

THE inclosed Papers \* should have been delivered to you by a friend; but the person who was to have carried them to him, being out of town, it was thought better to send them to you directly.

Among all the pamphlets which are come out, there ought to have been one, to have particularly explained the proceedings of the present ministry, which begun at the King's return last year from Holland. The breaking the last Parliament; the late meeting of this; the care which was taken by them and their friends upon the death of the King of Spain to persuade the world that all was well, and that a war would undo us; how, by this management, the French possessed themselves of Flanders, before the meeting of the Parliament; which was thought of so little importance to England, as not to be worth mentioning in the King's speech; all which disheartened so much our allies abroad, that the King of Portugal, despairing, made a treaty with France; and many Princes besides, thought it best to be neuter. The late meeting of the Parliament made it impracticable for England to be of any use abroad this year.

\* The two preceding Letters.

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III.  
1701.

either by sea or land, there not being time to conclude treaties with the Emperor and other Princes, without which war could not be declared.

*Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland.*

Sept. 20.

THE person, who has had the honour to receive the packet, desires to put the writer in mind, that, upon their last conversation, it was agreed, there should be a personal friendship between them, independent on all public matters. He takes things to stand upon that foot; and as he has always piqued himself on acting the part of a friend very strictly, where he has made the profession, so he doubts not but this will be reciprocal. Freedom must be the necessary consequence, and he expects to be freely reprov'd when he is wrong at any time, as well as plainly instructed; making, once for all, this express declaration, that he will never be concerned, more or less, in any thing relating to the public, but in concurrence with, and under the direction of, the person who sent the packet.

He is sorry to read the paper which came from beyond sea, though he did not hope for much, considering how things had passed this summer, both here and abroad.

The answer he thinks to be written with all the good sense and good meaning possible. He likes every word in it, but what relates to himself; and, to put in practice the freedom he thinks so necessary, that is wrong throughout. What is said of him does not belong to him, nor can he perform that which seems to be expected from him. The King and the sender of the packet both know he never could, nor would, be a leader; and having declared under whom he has list'd himself, he hopes the part assigned him will be such, as may be practicable

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1701.

practicable by one of his natural temper, and in his present circumstances. He knows the King's humour well enough to be sensible how little any thing said to him will signify, if it be but possible for him to think the person who speaks may have somewhat of his own interest in view; and he appeals, whether in the condition he is now taken to stand, any thing material can be said, upon which such a construction may not be put?

He does not say this to decline waiting on his Majesty if it be thought necessary; and, in that case, will certainly speak his opinion clearly. But if that be the measure to be taken, he then depends upon receiving another letter, wherein the particulars of what is to be said be somewhat explained; he not only desiring, but insisting upon it, that he may be certain he says nothing at such a conference, without the full concurrence of the person by whose measures he has resolved to act.

He says, that, under the King's present resolution, there is but one man living can determine him to take vigorous measures, and considering who are about him, the same person only can keep him steady. This is as certain as any thing in nature; so that, whatsoever is attempted, unless that person does actually take a part, will infallibly prove insignificant. This he does not say to decline any thing of which he is capable; but upon the deliberate weighing of the whole matter, and not without some regard to the particular interest of the person himself, for which he will always be sincerely concerned.

If the present Parliament be to continue, he thinks that person would be in the wrong to appear; but he is of a quite different sentiment, if it should be resolved to have another. He knows there is a very general good disposition in the Whigs to unite in that person, which he says would have appeared in a very evident manner before this time, if he himself had not been tied up so very strictly, as he was, from letting the good designs of that person be more

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II.  
1701.

understood. He leaves it to that person to judge, whether this conduct be perfectly right; because at the same time the thing is made a mystery to friends, who ought not to be ignorant, the enemies do positively take it for granted, and intend as maliciously to him, as is possible. It is fit the person should be informed of this matter of fact, which may be depended upon to be certainly true.

This being the case, if another Parliament come to be resolved upon, why should not that person come to town as others do, since the same construction will certainly be made in the one case as in the other? This matter is entirely submitted to the person's own judgment; but he asks leave to say, that, without this, in the present juncture, nothing can be brought to pass effectually for the good of England. He says, it is certainly true, which was said in the answer, that nothing would be asked for any of the Whigs, as also what was promised for him, as to his zeal and affection, for which he returns humble thanks. By the letter and answer, he thinks the news was come to neither of the parties, of the two great incidents; that of the edict about the trade of England, and that of the death of King James, and the acknowledging the Prince of Wales. He thinks those things cannot but have considerable effects both with the King and with others here. The association is in a manner at an end. The renewing that, or the carrying it yet further, may perhaps be practicable. Possibly this may be the right occasion to be taken for making those things general, which have moved so sluggishly hitherto. This time seems perfectly right, if the thing could succeed.

Such a paper as is mentioned is, above all others, wanting; if any ways could be found to procure it. A thing of that nature has been promised.

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*Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.*WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

Oct. 1.

THE friendship mentioned is extremely valued, and looked upon to be for ever established. Coming to town is allowed to be unnecessary, unless there is a new parliament; and if there is one, no help will be wanting. For the King will certainly engage thoroughly in the true interest of England; which being all that is desired by that person, his resolutions continue the same, of not meddling, or doing any thing that can look like it. If the King, when he speaks freely, as it is supposed he will, be plainly shewed what is fit, arguments, drawn from what any body else thinks, will be of little use; and the less so, because he will not doubt of the concurrence. The great care ought to be, not to insist on things that are not absolutely necessary, but to make him find as much ease as may be; for, if the main be agreed to, all the rest will soon follow. And if it should not be at first, if there is a good and practicable foundation laid, the first accident makes it sure.

The renewing the association, and carrying it further, is necessary, and will have abundance of good consequences; and perhaps might best be begun in the House of Lords; as likewise the engaging against France, and finding fault with the ministry; but it is thought nothing will be well done without such a paper as has been before wished for.

*Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland.*

Oct. 3.

THE great point is a new Parliament, or not. One sort of men say, that is determined in the negative. If so, there is little room for deliberation.



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1701.

If that point be not resolved, as the paper seems to admit, it is also thereby admitted, that all the help will be wanting to fix such a resolution. It is only *one* man's reasons and credit can do it, and he must be left to take his own methods to bring it about.

Upon supposition that the King will talk freely with a certain person, he very earnestly renews his request, that he may be instructed what arguments will be most proper and likely to be most effectual; and what is to be offered as a practicable foundation. It is certainly right, that the King should find as much ease as can be; and that nothing but what is absolutely necessary should be insisted upon, and other things left to accidents; but it is depended upon, that this should be explained, otherwise the person is wholly deprived of the only assistance he values for his conduct.

It is not necessary to come to a resolution presently, as to things which are thought fittest to be attempted in the House of Lords first.

The paper \* desired would certainly have a good effect. It was promised, and it is believed to be ready printed. But for some reasons which the writer conceals, it has not yet appeared; and there is a doubt when it will.

---

*The King to Lord Somers.*

A Loo, ce Oct. 10, 1701.

J'AY chargé Mr. Gallway de vous parler de ma part, avec beaucoup de franchise. J'espère que vous ajouterez une entière créance à ce qu'il vous dira; et que vous voudrez bien en user avec la même franchise, sans aucune réserve, et être persuadé de la continuation de mon amitié.

WILLIAM R.

\* It is thought a pamphlet called *Anguis in Herba*, published among the tracts at that time, is the paper here alluded to.

*Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.*

WILLIAM

III.

1701.

Oct. 21.

AN answer is come to that letter, of which an account was given.

The King is resolved to discourse fully and plainly, with all the good inclinations possible, and knows that the two friends are of a mind in every particular.

---

*Heads of Lord Somers's arguments to induce the King to call a new Parliament.*

THE present ferment and disposition of the nation.

1st, Art of governing in England, is watching and using such opportunities.

2d. These opportunities do not last.

3d. Neglect of making use of them always must turn to disadvantage;

1. By disobliging the zealous;

2. Encouraging the ill-meaning;

3. Creating the jealousies of the King and his measures.

4th. The like opportunities not to be had again, there being no like occasion in view.

5th. Last year's argument, to begin a war with a new Parliament stronger now; and why should it not have the same effect?

6th. It may last for three years, upon a good choice; in which time, the greatest difficulties may be over: and the funds will be so near disengaged, as to give an encouraging prospect.

7th. Reason to depend on a good Parliament, when so good an inclination in the people.—Bishops desire it.—We may have their help.—Court and country not the present question.

8th. No

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

8th. No hazard; for let the majority fall as it will, the present temper will force them to do what the King will desire.

9th. But the majority will be sure, if it be considered upon what foot it was understood the last Parliament was chosen; and yet how small a majority, and how obtained.

Present Parliament.

1st. Their inclination has appeared against a war to demonstration; and though they say now it is unavoidable, their opinion is against it.

2d. Great number engaged for the Prince of Wales.—Their discourses, &c.

3d. Delays both as to the meeting of the Parliament, and to the perfecting the supplies; so as no less than a miracle, all was not lost.

4th. Unnecessarily running on such a supply, as makes it more difficult to go on with a war.

5th. The King to consider how far he and Europe are in their hands, and can depend on their promises.

6th. Their inclination being manifestly against the King, if they comply, it is but the effect of fear, and that will continue on a new choice; and be more, as the choice is better.

7th. If they are sincerely for a war, and in the King's interest, they will act the same part in another Parliament.

8th. They have no reason to resent the dissolution, no more than the other party had the last year.

9th. The Whigs will look upon themselves as utterly abandoned, when neither the King's visible interest, nor the manifest sense of the nation, will induce him to give them quarter, and will be only thinking of measures to procure safety.

10th. Friends abroad will despair.

11th. More likely to dispose people towards a union on the foot of a new Parliament.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

12th. Whigs leave him entirely to his own scheme on the plan of a new Parliament.

13th. But to set himself and his people at ease, he must trust those whom the body of the people do not distrust.

*Obj.* They, *i. e.* the Tories, promise,

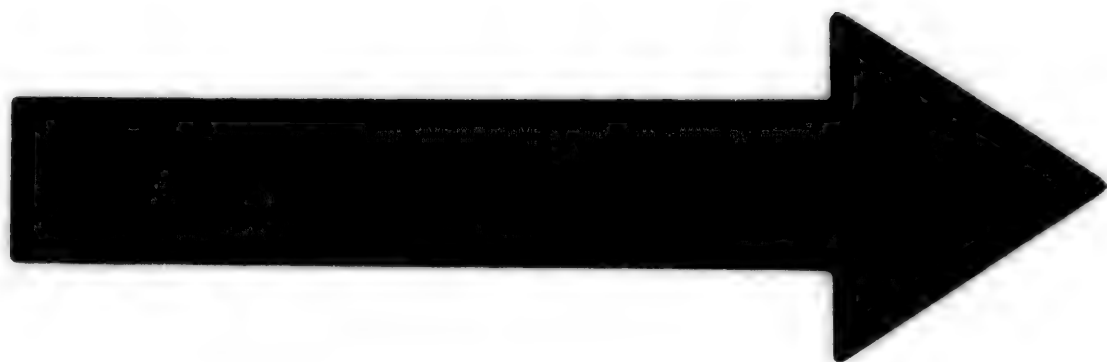
1st. To provide for the war;

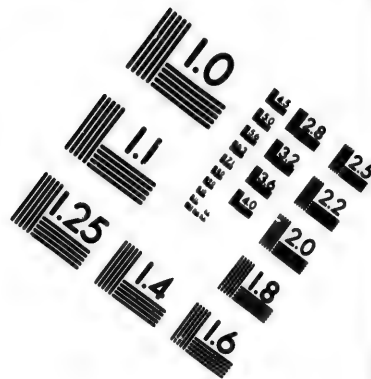
2d. Not to disturb or revive differences.

They can give no security, but their bare promise.—To trust them, is to put the fate of Europe in their hands.—Neither their will, nor their power to be depended on.—Not their will, if it can be considered, how their party is composed; for, without the professed Jacobites, they are nothing.—Will the King trust to a majority made up of Jacobites, to make effectual provisions against France and the Prince of Wales?—Will he believe the Tories will quit *them*, and shew themselves to be no considerable party; or will he depend upon the affection of the Whigs to assist them to establish a ministry which has no mercy nor justice?—Will the King go upon an uncertainty, when he need not? It is in the power of one side to interrupt as well as the other.—Must expect to comply throughout with them\*, for they distrust him.—Their power not to be depended on.—That can no more be depended on now than last year; when, as they pretended, they could not govern their own party as to the violences.—It is in the power of every man, and who can undertake for that?—Not the same case in another Parliament, which may disavow the unjust and violent proceedings, which this cannot.—Dangerous to venture the dispute upon a point of privilege, when a party is lifted and engaged to defend what they have done.—Will never take up this but late.—Will never take up a quarrel, but upon a popular point; nor possible to hinder, but that such an opportunity they may give themselves.—

\* The Tories.

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WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

Great hazard then of ill elections. For the choice always so, when a Parliament is dissolved on a popular point.—Lords cannot recede without utter ruin of the constitution.

*Obj.* First, Shortness of time: Second, King's approbation.

*Answ.* to the 1st. Cannot have this Parliament under three weeks, and may have the other in six †.—Neither can do more than vote before Christmas.—New one will have done more before February is over.—Friends abroad more satisfied with a new Parliament, than such a little time gained.

As to the 2d. Have had nothing else to depend upon this summer; people see through it.—Ja. H.'s \* address.—The great alteration, which has happened by the declaration of the Prince of Wales, and addresses thereupon.

† This fixes, within a very few days, the date of this paper. The old Parliament was dissolved on the 11th of November (the King having landed from Holland on the 4th of that month) and the new one met on the 31st of December.

\* I suppose *Jack Howe*, a noted leader in the House of Commons.

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VOL. II.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

*Lord Sunderland's advice to Lord Somers\*.*

**H**E desires Lord Gallway should say publicly, that he was to desire him and Lord Sunderland to come to the King; but he would not change his mind. He desired others to make the scheme for the ministry, and conduct of the Parliament without him, and propose it to the King.

What he thinks is, the last Parliament was superior for the King and the Whigs, as appears by the carrying the words of the *peace of Europe* †; and by the majority Lord Somers had the two first times he was attacked. The next Parliament will be the same. The King and the Whigs will have the majority if the King will. It is probable that the elections will be good, and that the Whigs will be considerably the stronger; yet nothing is to be neglected to arrive at it. The King being engaged, it is necessary that he follows the advice of the Whigs, and fortifies them with all his power, as far as common justice and the law will allow.

There is nothing more dangerous, than to let either party think the King is wavering; but it is better the Whigs should fear, than that the Tories should hope; because it makes them bolder and more diligent to hurt. This has been the cause of the greatest part of the difficulties he has found during his reign. The encouragement he gives them, even in his closet, is prejudicial, and becomes presently public.

\* The contents supply the want of a date. The paper was written soon after the dissolution of the Parliament in November, while the elections for a new one were going on.

† In an address, carried in the House of Commons, by a majority of 181 to 100, they

assured his Majesty, "That they would support his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe."

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

By the same reason the King ought never to endeavour to gain any Tory. He is a judge, if he has ever succeeded in thirteen years. He would do well to propose nothing of this to my Lord Ranelagh, Coningsby, or Godolphin; at the same time he ought not to shut the door against the Tories, but to recommend those who will serve well, after the service done. The King will also do well to make use of those, who are very capable of employments, provided they be not those who have distinguished themselves in Parliament against him.

He would also do well to tell the Tories openly, that he has called a new Parliament, by reason of the ill-treatment he had from them during the last session. He may mention particulars which are too long to be inserted here.

There is nothing more necessary than to observe a good method during the holding of a Parliament, and to foresee events, so as not to be surprized, and to be in a condition to remedy them. The King and Lord Somers know the order which was observed in 1696, which had good success; the same method is to be pursued, and will succeed; many depend immediately on the King; an hint ought to be given him, that he may speak to them, and let them know his intentions, and receive no excuse.

The Tories are better speakers than the Whigs in the House of Commons; therefore, in the beginning, the Whigs ought to have some remarkable advantage, which may give them that superiority, which may help them to conduct the affairs during the rest of the session. The nomination of a speaker, though it be very important, will not be sufficient\*.

\* The Whigs proposed Sir T. Lyttleton for speaker, but Mr. Harley, whom the Tories supported, was chosen on a division, 216 against 212.

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The judgment of the House of Lords in favour of the three Lords impeached, gives them an occasion to renew the difference between the two houses; and an occasion so favourable, that, if it be not prevented at the beginning, although the Whigs have the majority, the Tories will recover it in a fortnight. An act of grace puts an end to this in an instant.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

There being an appearance of such a division between the two houses in such a juncture, it not only becomes the King, but it is in some measure his duty to stop the consequences; nothing being more indecent than to let his subjects come to extremities, when he can hinder it. It is certain he ought to prevent these divisions and animosities. If another way be found more sure, more ready, and more expedient than an act of grace, it ought to be followed.

If this be thought proper, this act ought to be sent to the House of Lords, after the Speaker is chosen in the House of Commons. It ought to be full, and extended as far as possible, excepting those who have misemployed the King's money, and those who have served, and been with King James since the abjuration; taking care, if they who may be accused to serve King James in England be not excluded, that it ought to be understood, that the act of grace is not to shelter them, but to put an end to the differences between the two houses.

As soon as the act of grace is passed, an abjuration ought to be proposed of the Prince of Wales. This ought to commence in the House of Commons, if it be disposed.

As soon as the Speaker is named, endeavour should be made to thank the King for his speech, and his dissolving the last.

It would be well for the King to give order to two of the cabinet to prepare the speech, as the Duke of Devonshire and Secretary Vernon, and bid them consult in private Lord Somers, rather than to bring to the cabinet a speech already made.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

This speech ought to give an account of the reasons of dissolving the last Parliament, which are two; the addresses, as they are mentioned in the proclamation; but, above all, on account of the division of the two houses at the end of the last session, and to exhort them not to continue in such divisions; and the King will consider of ways to stop them. It would be also proper to speak, in passing, of the dangerous consequences to have a Parliament meet last year four months after the death of the King of Spain, which, added to the inevitable delays occasioned by the differences between the two houses, rendered the last session useless to the public good; therefore the King recommends to this Parliament, to dispatch the public affairs, and to think of nothing else, till they have entirely concluded. He ought also to recommend the payment of the debts, to the end to ascertain and re-establish credit. To consider also what is proper to be said for maintaining the Protestant religion, as well at home as abroad.

As to places \*, he is of opinion, the King should make the Duke of Somerset, Chamberlain; Lord Carlisle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; the place of Secretary Hedges, to Lord Wharton; or at least to take the place from him, and to reserve it to be filled after.

The President of the Council should not be in the commission of the Admiralty; but would have my Lord Jersey, First Commissioner.

\* In the original, the names were only marked in initials; they are filled up according to the best conjectures of the Editor. It must be owned, this was a very imperfect outline of an administration, meant to be adequate to so great a crisis. It is to be observed, however, that this arrangement recommended by Lord Sunderland was not completely adopted. Lord Carlisle, indeed, was made First Lord of the Treasury, in the room of Lord Godolphin; but it was Lord Manchester, and not Lord Wharton who succeeded Sir Charles Hedges as Secretary. The Duke of Somerset was not made Chamberlain, but Lord President, in the room of Lord Pembroke, who became Lord High Admiral. See the *London Gazette* of the time. The King's death some time after, put an end to these beginnings of a Whig administration; Queen Anne having immediately, on her accession, brought the Tories again into power.

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# STATE PAPERS.

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Mr. Smith, Commissioner of the Treasury in the place of Mr. Hill, who may have a prebend or deanry.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

None to be of the Cabinet Council, but who have, in some sort, a right to enter there by their employment.

Archbishop, Lord Keeper, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, First Commissioner of the Treasury, Two Secretaries of State; the Lieutenant of Ireland must be there, when he is in England. If the King would have more, it ought to be the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, and the Master of the Ordnance. If these two are excluded, no one can take it ill, if he be not admitted. They may be summoned, when any thing relating to their charge is debated. It would be much for the King's service, if he brought his affairs to be debated at that Council.

He thinks all the King's good servants should be made to come up immediately; to the end, to be at the opening of the Parliament. Among others Mr. Methwyn, and Major General Earl, though they be necessary in Ireland.

He thinks the government there ought to be left in the best hands it could, till the end of the session; and then to send such a governor as may continue.

There ought to be a stronger army there, of ten or twelve thousand. To consider if this ought not to be spoken of to the Parliament. He thinks a quota ought to be agreed upon, in making the treaty with the Emperor.

Mr.

WILLIAM  
III.  
1701.

*Lord Sunderland to Lord Gallway.*

**T**HIRTY-THREE does earnestly desire 30, 27, and all his friends, not to think of him, but to act as if he was not in the world. If he were worth having, I would say there is no way but to forget him, which was desired so often, as you know at the beginning. But after all the clutter has been made, if he should just now engage in business, it would be pretending to miracles which he is very unfit for. 27 has convinced 33, that what was thought of being done by 18 cannot; so that it must fall, as being vain. Every letter that 33 receives, to persuade him, that he is necessary, contributes to the fixing him here; for he is no way capable of answering those expectations of furthering what is fit, and hindering what is not. If there had been less bustle made about him, as was earnestly desired, he would have been ready to have complied by this time; but while he is to be stared upon, he cannot engage. 12 has a plain way to follow, and cannot fail if he pleases; and yet he will not do those things which his own judgment leads him to, and which Lord Gallway said he had resolved. When 12 has put his affairs into some order, 33 may be perhaps of some use; and as soon as that is, he will desire to be sent for as much as he now desires to be forgot. 33 can say nothing, but what he did to 30; only that he thinks no more of 37, nor of 18; yielding to those who are best judges.

*Lord Somers, 27. Lord Sunderland, 33. House of Lords, 18.  
King, 12. Lord Gallway, 30. Earl of Godolphin, 37.*

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WILLIAM

III.

1701.

*Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.*

December 27th.

**Y**OUR friend is convinced that what was designed cannot be done in the House of Lords, and therefore it may be no more thought of. He is very sorry to be pressed to what he cannot do; for he is very incapable of answering people's expectations, and does earnestly desire, that you and your friends may not think of him. For nothing, but being let alone for some time, can make it possible for him to be persuaded to stir.

ANNE.

1703-4.

*Lord Haversham \* to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

AFTER so long an acquaintance, I take this to be the civilest way of parting. I am very sorry to see, what I hoped I never should see, but must shut my eyes if I will not. The interest of my country, as it ever has, so it always shall govern me, without regard to this or that man. I think this due to myself, and to your Lordship, to be acquainted with it, from

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

February 19th, 1703.

HAVERSHAM.

*Lord Somers to Lord Haversham.*

My Lord,

I AM uneasy till I can let your Lordship know, some way or other, the effect of what I said yesterday. As soon as I could get an opportunity of speaking, after you expressed yourself dissatisfied, I said you were a person for whom I always had a great esteem and honour, and from whom I had received such obligations, even in that house, as I never would forget, and would not fail to return whenever it lay in my power; that therefore it was not possible for

\* His name was Thompson; he had taken a strong part with Lord Somers on his impeachment, and incurred the resentment of the House of Commons by it. Not being satisfied with the behaviour of the Whigs towards him afterwards, he fell into other measures, and though a dissenter, ended his political career, by voting for Dr. Sacheverel. The offence he took at some words of Lord Somers, was probably in one of the debates, occasioned by the inquiry into the Scots plot. Vide the Journals 1703-4. Burnet.

me to mean any thing, that ought to give you just offence. This was the substance of what I said; the person who prevailed upon you to go out of the house, was a witness of the impatience which I shewed, to explain this matter; and with his usual candour, endeavoured, as I believe, to prevent your hearing it. I could not forbear saying this, that your Lordship may be assured, though I have of late not had the honour of conversing with you so much as formerly, yet I retain the same lively sense of your generous behaviour at the time of the impeachments, as if it passed but yesterday; and consequently can never, willingly, say or do any thing which ought to displease you, but retain a firm resolution of being, as far as you will please to allow me, for ever,

ANNE.  
1706.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

SOMERS.

---

*Duke of Argyle to Lord Somers.*

Edinburgh, 1706.

I PRESUME your Lordship had an account of what passed in Parliament last Friday. The losing of that vote was indeed very surprising to me, but much the more so, upon account of its being lost by gentlemen's voting against us who are in her Majesty's service, which is intolerable; and if such persons are not turned out of their employments, it will not only encourage indifferent people to take liberties they otherwise would not do, but will make those who are firm, grow negligent; for it is certainly the height of discouragement to good men, to see bad go unpunished. My Lord, I am preaching this doctrine here every day; but there is too little firmness among us to make it relish. My Lord Commissioner does

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ANN E.  
1705.

indeed say, he will be for turning them out after the Parliament. Therefore, my Lord, I would, with great submission, propose, that commissions might be granted to others in their places, which may lie in my Lord Commissioner's hands till after the Parliament. I need not trouble your Lordship with their names, because there are printed lists of several votes. I shall only mention one who happens to be a relation of mine, and therefore deserves the more to be punished; his name is Urquhart, of Meldrum. I wish, my Lord, every body would act the same part in this matter as I do. But that I despair to see. We have to-day carried an alteration in the eighth article against one moved by the opposing party, which would indeed have been worse; though, truly, I think the one carried bad enough. I strongly wished to have passed the clause as it stood; but most of her Majesty's servants, being of another opinion, I was obliged, though much against my will, to submit, and so voted for the least of two evils, as I have been forced to do in other cases of the same nature; for I have from the beginning declared myself, both in public and private, against all manner of alterations whatsoever. I was glad to hear your Lordship was pleased with what was done in Parliament in relation to the disturbances in this country. If my advice had been taken, it had been done sooner. But I need not say any thing of that matter; the parts which all acted are so well known, that your Lordship will certainly hear of them from other hands. I cannot, my Lord, but regret my bad fortune, in being obliged to be here so long; for no slave was ever more weary of his galley, than I am of this place. But whatever is for her Majesty's service, I shall always think it my duty to comply with, who am,

My Lord,

With great respect, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

ARGYLE.

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ANNE.  
1706.*Lord Somers to Lord Halifax\*.*

May 18, 1706.

I ACKNOWLEDGE the honour of your letter from Osnaburg, dated the 16th instant, our stile, which I received on Saturday. I am glad your Lordship has got very well so far on your journey; for I have been truly angry with Vanbrugh, who has detained you so long; because I cannot, but with a good deal of impatience, expect and desire your return; not only upon the account of the pleasure which I can find no where but in your company, but for many other reasons which you can think sooner than I can enumerate; particularly in respect to the Union, where we meet with some difficulties, which your Lordship could easily solve.

The success † (of which you have had, at least, as good an account as we, before this time) has been so great and so unexpected, and is already attended with such circumstances, that it will not be hard for your Lordship to judge of us, as people incapable of judging or talking reasonably. When I consider the prospect you had when you parted with the Duke of Marlborough (I should rather say what he had) and what has happened since in so short a time, I can only stand amazed. Let that consideration engage your Lordship to think it very material to answer an inquirer two questions; first, what we are to do next? and, secondly, what is most wanted? Ostend is the first thing; and I believe most of the other places in Spanish or Walloon Flanders; so the first question goes no further. Your own good sense carries you on as far as it can go. But as there is somewhat in finding out the sentiments of those where you

\* Lord Halifax was employed, at this time, Marlborough's army, to carry the regency act to the Court of Hanover, and to execute some commissions (in *passant*) at the Hague, and the Duke of

† The battle of Ramillies, fought on the 23d of this month.

ANN E.  
1705. are, who know the common interest and are also concerned; so I think it would be of great use to draw your Lordship from different views, and to see on which part it will make the best picture. My second question is, What are we to ask? for whatever that is, I begin to think it is coming to the time; whether it be money, whether it be places in Europe, any where else, or any thing at all \* \* \* \* \* (Imperfect.)

---

*Lord Halifax to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

July.

I WAS resolved to follow your Lordship's advice as far as possible in finishing the treaty \* before I came over; I waited at the Hague for the Session of the States of the province of Holland, and I could not bring it to be considered till Friday last. Then they entered upon the examination of it, in a Committee first, and afterwards in the Assembly of the States of the province. They came there to an opinion for advice, which is to be kept secret under an oath; so that I am not certain what it was; but I have reason to think it was to this effect; viz. that the Queen should be acknowledged as a preliminary. When I came from Hanover, I found that they made difficulties in this; they imagined the peace was to be made like that of Reswick; that we were to use their intervention; and the Queen was to be treated with only as an ally to them, and to be acknowledged at last when the treaty was signed. I confess this way of discourse did a little provoke me; and I thought it was not sufficient to answer their reasonings upon it off hand; but I wrote a long letter to the Pensionary, that he might shew to others

\* This year, peace was offered by the French King, on terms which the allies thought proper to reject,

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to let them know, that the Queen and nation would never be contented to treat in this manner. It had so much effect, that I heard no more of those arguments; they agreed, that the Queen should be owned as a preliminary; but still they thought it sufficient, and more proper, not to put it in the treaty, though they will neither sign the articles, nor conclude the treaty, unless it be clearly acknowledged. There is no great difference in the manner. I fancy, they have made that alteration of the 6th article, and have added a clause, whereby the Queen is to engage that she shall procure for them a good barrier: I foresee no difficulty in this, for we shall be as forward as they to have the frontiers secure.

ANNE.  
1706.

But there will be some nicety in expressing this; for if it be worded in general terms, it will be very uncertain; and if they name particular places which shall be put into their hands, it will be very hard to agree upon them, and may give offence to some others of the allies. In my opinion, they should word this as strong, and as particularly as they pleased; for I think it is our interest that their barrier should be as good as we can get for them; and if they insist upon too much, it will be the greater tie upon them, not to make peace, till it is procured for them. Perhaps this alone is better than all the rest; for if they are thus drawn in, at their own desire, to oblige themselves not to run too fast into a peace, it were the most desirable part of the treaty. My Lord, I must beg your thoughts upon this with speed; for the whole affair will turn upon this.

Helchin, 26th July.

I wrote the former in my passage to the camp, where I am received very kindly; and I find the Duke agrees with me in my thoughts what will make things easy. He is a little retarded by the want of water. In the mean time, the army is in motion, which is now come up within four hours of the town. He is very zealous in pressing his success, and has so many designs on foot, that I am in hopes you

may



ANN B. <sup>1706.</sup> may be again surprized by his happy conduct. I cannot say so much for some others; the evil spirit takes place again amongst them; and had they been left to model the government of the Spanish Low Countries according to their own fancies, they would make them more uneasy than they were. The duties upon English commodities are taken off. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

HALIFAX.

*Lord Somers's Answer.*

My Lord,

I CANNOT satisfy myself without acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's letter, though I am altogether uncertain whether this will reach you; because I think the latter part of your letter gives reason to hope you may be with us sooner than I collected from the first part.

I am of your Lordship's opinion, as to penning the 6th article, concerning the barrier. The stronger the better, if they and we mean the same thing by that word; but I am not so clear as to that point in my own thoughts, since I understood they were so forward in modelling the government of the Spanish Netherlands; and since, you tell me, the evil spirit takes place again amongst them. Your Lordship, who knows how the article is worded, sees through this doubt of mine.

I have always had a great dread of the beginning a treaty with France. I am in some degree versed in treaties of the last age. The French,

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French, as soon as it is once entered into, will transact with particular plenipotentiaries, and are more busy in shewing them their respective particular interests, than in convincing the several commissions: I could enumerate instances of this kind, from the treaty of Vervins downwards. You can judge if there be any danger of this sort from the state of things in Holland. This seems to me the difference that is of moment, between a preliminary article, and an article of the treaty.

ANNE.  
1705.

You revive me by what you tell me of your hopes that we may be again surpris'd. I have seen such great things, that I cannot but allow myself to carry my hopes to any degree. I cannot help wishing to see the foundations of such a peace as may be lasting. It is he only can begin the work, we may assist and carry the sound forward; but from him it must move originally; and I cannot help wishing very eagerly, though it is scarce possible, that this wonderful year—(Imperfect.)

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*Lord Halifax to Lord Somers.*

Oct. 3, 1706.

I AM extremely troubled that you have been so much out of order; but am glad your illness does not prove to be any thing of the stone. Indeed your Lordship did set out in such bitter weather, that you might expect to catch cold.

I have had one or two conferences since you was here, of which Lord Sunderland undertook to give you an account. In the first place, I deliver'd your sense as plainly and directly as I could express it, and I find no reason to change our resolution.

In the 2d, I was shewn Buys his letter, which was as much French, as if it had been writ by Aligre; and it was answered as heartily and as resolutely as I desired; and I hope, when Lord Marlborough

A N N E.  
1705.

borough shall see two such letters from hence, he will be cautious of going into the sentiments of Holland, and they will not have courage to leave us in points so advantageous to themselves.

I have had a packet from Newmarket with the Earl of Peterborough's letter, and others from Scotland. These last have nothing new, except complaints against the advocate, who cannot be brought to assist, though he promises not to oppose. Duke of Argyll went down yesterday.

———\* talks at the old rate, blaming every thing, and does not speak of one remedy: Lord Treasurer thinks it best to intercept him in Italy; and prevent him from returning, to which opinion I readily concurred. There are some strokes in his letter that are plain innuendoes, that either he intends to come hither to complain, or he would have that noble Lord think he intends it.

I have a long letter from the Pensionary about our treaty, which satisfies me extremely that my manner of using them has been right. Our backwardness in going on with that, and Lord Treasurer's resolute answers, have made them eager to finish this treaty.

I cannot answer this letter without your assistance; and, I believe, if you are able to travel, this place will agree with you better than the country. You see there are many things to settle, and I expect to hear again from Newmarket, when Buys his answer comes. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,  
and most obedient servant,

HALIFAX.

\* Probably this blank is to be filled up with the name of Lord Peterborough.

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VOL.

ANNE.  
1707-8.

*Minutes of Lord Somers's Speech in the House of Lords,  
on the Bill for abolishing the Privy Council of Scotland,  
and the Amendment, proposed in that House, to give it a  
Continuance of several Months after the passing of the  
Bill. 1707-8 \*.*

TRUE concern for preserving the public peace.—Heartily  
desirous of the Union.—No less desirous to make it entire  
and complete.—Not at all perfect while two political administra-  
tions subsist.—The true argument for the Union was the danger  
to both kingdoms from a divided state.—Prince able, by the help  
of one, to enslave the other, and to effect another sort of union.  
—The advantage of Scotland is to have the same easy access to  
the Prince; to be under the immediate personal care of the  
Prince; and not to owe their protection and countenance to any  
subordinate institution.—This was my argument at the Union.  
—Will not prevaricate.—Worse state after the Union, if a  
distinct administration continue.—Now no Parliament to resort to  
in Scotland.—The marks of distinction will continue.

*Obj.* This council is not a constitution of state and policy, but, in  
effect, a sovereign court of justice to see the laws effectually executed,  
and for preservation of the public peace. These words, as extensive  
as in *Ordine ad Spiritualia*.—Unacquainted with Scotland, and  
have heard much of the fitness of such a Council for Scotland;  
but England would never agree with these courts that are mixed  
of state and justice.—Policy soon gets the better of justice.—  
We had a Privy Council in England with great and mixed powers.

\* Vide Bishop Burnet's History, vol. ii. p. 498.

ANNE.  
1707-8.

—We suffered under it long and much.—All the rolls of Parliament are full of complaints and remedies; but none of them effectual till King Charles the First's time.—The Star Chamber was but a spawn out of our Council; and was called so, only because it sat in the usual Council Chamber.—It was set up as a formal court in the 3 Henry VII. in very soft words; to punish great riots; to restrain offenders too big for ordinary justice; or, in the modern phrase, to preserve the public peace: but in a little time, it made this nation tremble. The Privy Council came at last to make laws by proclamation; and the Star-Chamber ruined those that would not obey.—At last they fell together, but not without endangering the kingdom.—The President and Council of the northern parts was another of these Councils under which we have suffered.—There was a very plausible pretence, for there had been no fewer than six rebellions in the North of England within a very little time.—The country was remote, and it was necessary for the peace.—It began very gently, it was in effect no more than an ordinary commission of *Oyer and Terminer*; only a charitable clause was added of determining suits and differences where both the parties, or either of them, was so poor, that they could not sue or defend themselves at law.—The Bishop of Landaff, a very pious good man, was made President; and the most popular gentry composed the Commission.—Who could suspect such a Council could last long, or do much hurt? But it could not be pulled down; and by degrees it grew to that exorbitant height, that the northern part of England could not bear it; and nothing could cure the mischief, but abolishing it.

It is remarkable that when the council was erected for the North, another was set up for the West upon the same reasons; the remoteness of the country and the care of the peace. But the western gentlemen were so wise, that they saw the danger. They joined in assuring the King they would be good subjects, and begged to live

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under his immediate government and the known laws; and it prevailed; and so the country continued happy and quiet.

ANNE.  
1707-8.

I will mention but one other council that we had experience of in England; and that is the president and council of the marches of Wales.—That was an old court, in a manner from the conquest of Wales by King Edward the First.—For the laws of the marches being very different from the laws of the principality, it was thought necessary to set up an authority that should go through the whole.—Henry the Eighth united Wales to England, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, that union was made complete in every thing; but there was one short unhappy clause inserted, that there should remain a president and council, with such officers and clerks as had been used.—But this clause made them find small benefit of the union.—Perpetual complaints, perpetual encroachments.—This council had power enough to invade the four English counties next them, and maintained their conquest with various success, as the prerogative run high or low.—And it was never finally taken away till the reign of the late King and Queen.—This is a short deduction of the history of these councils, with which this kingdom has been afflicted.—We were never quiet till we were rid of them entirely. The great ministers always supported them against the ordinary administrations of law. King James the First, several times convened his judges to answer why they presumed to grant prohibitions to them, and to the high commission; which was another court of the same kind, and by the help of which, the crown in return for gratifying the ambition or spleen of some few clergymen, made use of them to torment and ruin some men that were out of fashion at court, that could not be so properly reached in the star-chamber.—Wales and our northern countries are as far distant from the seat of government as they were formerly, and yet no parts of the kingdom more peaceable.—Hope Scotland, though a little farther northward,

ANN E.  
1707-8.

will be quiet and happy under the influence of her Majesty, and her council of Great Britain, unless your Lordships shall interpose another council to intercept that influence.—For my part, I cannot agree to it; I wish North Britain as happy as England; I meant it should be so in the union, and I will always do what lies in my little power that it shall be really so.—Not capable of judging of the circumstances or dispositions of Scotland; but I should think the true way to make the union well relished, is to let the country see plainly, that England means no otherwise than fairly by them, and desires they should be in the very same circumstances they are themselves.—If this bill be passed, it will certainly be an awe upon ill disposed persons (if there be any such) to convince them, that, should they behave themselves unpeaceably, the Parliament of Great Britain will be sure to make a provision, and perhaps send them a council.

*1st Objection;* That too sudden alterations are dangerous.—This is certainly true, unless where the most manifest danger arises from the delay itself. What is essentially necessary to the union, when the thing in question will make an apparent breach in the union, as it will be, if the two countries stand upon different politic foundations, there it should be all done at once, or at least as soon as possible, for delay will make it more difficult.—In the union of Poland and Lithuania, by keeping up their distinct great offices of state, and their distinct diets; though there be one general diet for their united country, their former manners of division are continued, and have occasioned perpetual dissensions and distractions, in that imperfectly and unskilfully united country, so that they are much more unhappy than if they had still remained divided.—So great a good as the union cannot be too soon perfected.

*2d Objection;* We are in a time of war.—That seems to be an argument why it should be done now.—Any danger to the peace of North Britain must arise from foreign invasion or domestic troubles.

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ANNE,  
1707-8.

bles.—As for domestic troubles, it is hoped they will be of little consequence, unless we will suppose the council of Great Britain to be asleep; they will have a proper care and intelligence, and it is not forty-eight hours difference. It is in her Majesty and the council of Great Britain, that the care of the public peace in all parts of the united kingdom is lodged. And their care is like to be much more significant and effectual.—As to any foreign invasion.—I hope the enemies are not at leisure. We are better provided now than can be in time of peace; for then we can have no standing forces. Whereas now there is a proper provision made.—If that should really happen, our reliance will not be upon the orders or advices of the privy council in Scotland, but on the troops.

3d *Objections*. What is proposed is only for a short continuance.—I have shewn, by English experience, how very difficult it is to get such an institution, once made, to be laid down.—I have mentioned several instances.—There is some danger in making it the interest of those who are prejudiced in favour of a council, that North Britain should not be very quiet.—But it seems to me, that this very proposal gives up all that is essential in the question.—If it be a good thing, why not to be continued?—If it be the desire of Scotland, why shew them only to be taken away?—If they are afraid of the council, why should they be terrified with it, when it is not meant to continue?—I think you should expect some clear account what is likely to happen in this short interval, that should make it so very necessary to erect this short lived council.

1st. Give me leave to suggest, that this bill shews that it is not thought proper to be continued, in another place\*; and by what I observe, there is no inconsiderable number here who are no great friends to it.—All who are for it at present, agree it is not fit to be continued, however useful it may be thought at this juncture.

\* The House of Commons.

ANNE.  
1707-8.

—Can there be much expected from an assembly so supported, and so opposed? They will be thinking more of what they may not do, than of what they should do.—If we lay much stress upon them, we shall lean on a broken reed: a thing weak in itself, made weaker by resistance.

Secondly, do not know Scotland. If the peace cannot be kept without the council, the council ought to be continued.—But then I think several things ought to be made out.

1st, What those powers are which are so absolutely necessary for preservation of the peace.

2d, That as the law stands in Scotland, those powers are legally lodged in the council.

3d, That those powers are not, nor cannot be safely lodged in the privy council of Great Britain, nor in any of the judicatures or magistrates in Scotland.

4th, That it be plainly shewn, how in so short a time the case will be altered, so that it will become unnecessary.—For otherwise, we are deluded, and are leading Parliament to agree to a temporary provision upon reasons that must have a perpetual continuance.—When these things are fully explained, I assure you I shall be as much for this method of preserving the peace as any body.

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*Charles Earl of Sunderland to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

Althorp, August the 8th, 1709.

I HAVE the honour of your Lordship's letter, and am heartily sorry to hear you have been so much out of order, for nobody is more sincerely concerned for your Lordship's health than I; but I hope the worst is over, and if so, I will yet flatter myself with the hopes of having the honour of seeing you here.

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ANNE.  
1709.

I am sorry to see you have such a fit of the spleen upon you; for though there is but too much reason for it upon the whole, yet if you will give me leave to say so, I think you push it a little too far; for if you will allow me, I will tell you just my thoughts in relation to the affair of the admiralty. I own, I never did think they would do it in the right time and manner, either for themselves or for us: for they are not capable of doing any right thing with a good grace; but, at the same time, I am fully convinced, that, if it continues to be pressed by all of us, as I do not doubt it will, they both must and will do it at last, as we would have it; though probably they will, in this instance, pursue the same conduct which they have done in all; not take a resolution till a little before the Parliament meets. I am sensible, that their doing it in this manner, will, in a very great degree, lessen the good effect of it to the public and to themselves; but, at the same time, I think this settling of the admiralty right, in Lord Orford's hands, is a thing of so great consequence in itself, so national, and so great a strengthening of the Whig party, that if they do it at any time before the Parliament meets, we ought to accept of them. On the other side, if this opinion of mine should prove a mistake, and that they should persist in not doing a thing so necessary and reasonable, and which they have solemnly promised; I think we have nothing to do, but to continue, as we have done, to press as far as possible towards this point, that we may discharge ourselves to the public, to our friends, and indeed to ourselves; and when that is done, and the proper time come, which I cannot but think is just before the meeting of the parliament, to take our leave of them, by quitting, and have nothing more to do with them; and by this we shall preserve our reputation, and our party; and without it, we shall have neither. But though this be right at last, I cannot help thinking, it would be as well for the present, to keep fair with them, and not seem to distrust them too much. I ask pardon for this long impertinent letter;

ANN E. letter; but you have the matter so much at heart, as well as I, that  
 1709. I hope you will pardon it. I have taken occasion from this event of  
 our Cadiz expedition, which is certainly owing to Burchet's talking  
 publicly in the coffee-houses of it, to speak to Lady Marlborough  
 upon this subject of the admiralty; and I think I have put it so  
 home to her, that I cannot but be capable of guessing a little what  
 will be done, by the answer I shall receive. As to your query about  
 the capitulation of the citadel of Tournay; I own, it is a mystery  
 passes my comprehension; but, as far as I understand the capitula-  
 tion, there does not seem to be any pretence, from the words of it,  
 for a general cessation of arms. I am very sorry for any rub in  
 the way of the prosecution of the protestors, but since you would  
 not have me, I will inquire no further into it. I heartily wish you  
 may find some expedient to put the affair in a right way again, for  
 I look upon it as a thing of very great consequence. I am ever with  
 the greatest truth and respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

I am extremely of your mind about our friend Lord Halifax;  
 and if I see him here, as I hope I shall, I will speak to him very  
 plainly, and tell him the secret I told you.

*Duke of Marlborough to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

September the 30th, 1709.

I AM very much obliged to you for your kind congratulation  
 upon our late victory\*; as well as for your good wishes of a  
 happy and lasting peace. For I dare say none can be more desirous  
 of it, and I am confident your Lordship does me the justice to believe,

\* Malplaquet.

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\* Count  
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ANNE.  
1709.

I do my utmost towards procuring it, by my endeavours to improve our advantages. Your Lordship has been informed of what has passed between the pensioner and Monsieur Torey, since the negotiation was set on foot at the Hague; and of the letter which the French minister wrote to Petkum, which relates to nothing but the effect of Comte Merci's misfortune \*. I cannot hear any thing new since the battle, and it is probable they will be silent till the campaign is ended, when I hope they may change their stile; though, it is very obvious, the French are so enslaved to their arbitrary government, that those of the most solid judgment, and who wish well to their country, dare not say the least thing which may displease the court; but chuse rather to flatter the King with what may be most agreeable. Under these circumstances we must wait the issue of the campaign, which the season of the year, as well as the scarcity of forage, will oblige us to conclude earlier than otherways we should do; and when we come to the Hague, I hope your Lordship will favour me with your thoughts, what you judge may most conduce to the public good. I am, with great truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

\* Count Merci was defeated by the French General Count de Bourg, on the 26th of August, in Alsace.

ANNE.

1707.

## No. VIII.

From the original  
in the  
Paper Office.

*Papers relative to Lord Oxford's administration, and the  
treaty of Utrecht.*

[The following documents about a well known and much agitated period, will speak for themselves; in particular, the Cabinet Minute under Mr. Harley's own hand must be thought a very curious anecdote. The letters about the Utrecht negotiation are either not inserted, or very imperfectly abstracted, in the report of the Secret Committee in 1715. Whatever reputation the merit of the treaty deserves (and many capital objections may be made to it) Lord Bolingbroke must be allowed to have drawn up his dispatches with remarkable energy, spirit, and perspicuity. When he mentions having received the Queen's directions in Council, it was not from mere official form, *par maniere d'acquit*, as it were, that he says it. Queen Anne frequently attended her Cabinets; and Lord Bolingbroke assured a late great Minister, from whom the Editor had it, that she herself proposed the famous restraining orders to the Duke of Ormond, which his Lordship solemnly declared he had not been apprized of; and in the first emotion, was going to have objected to them; but after the Queen had delivered her pleasure to the Lords, she made a sign with her fan at her mouth, which Lord Bolingbroke knew she never did, but when she was determined on a measure; he, therefore, unhappily for himself and his country, acquiesced; and insinuated, when he told the story, that the advice was solely suggested by his rival Lord Oxford. Sir William Temple observes very truly in his

Memoirs,

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Memoirs, on a similar occasion \*, that when Princes call their Counsellors together, it should be with a resolution to hear what they have to say, before a measure is determined; and that to have Counsellors, who do not give counsel, is a solecism in government.]

ANNE.  
1707.

*Robert Harley to the Duke of Marlborough.*

My Lord,

Sept. 16-27th, 1707.

I SEND your Grace herewith an extract of a letter from Hanover, and also another from M. Chamillart to M. Tallard.

Mr. Schutz tells me, that he has advice, that the Swedish Minister presses the Court at Berlin to enter into the triple alliance, and that they two may do it without the House of Hanover, if the Elector continues to refuse his consent.

I have desired my Lord Treasurer to ask leave for me to go into the country, which I hope to do this day se'nnight. I entreat your Grace will permit me now, upon my taking leave, to assure you I never have writ any thing to you but what I really thought and intended. I have, for near two years, seen the storm coming upon me, and now I find I am to be sacrificed to fly insinuations and groundless jealousies. I have the satisfaction, not only of my own mind, but my enemies and friends witness for me, that I have served your Grace and my Lord Treasurer with the nicest honour, and by the strictest rules of friendship. That I have sacrificed every thing to this the world knows, and that what credit I have with the clergy or laity, has been all employed to no other end but the service of both your Lordships.

I have not interposed in, or contradicted directly or indirectly, by myself or any other, the putting in or putting out any person, or

\* Vide his Memoirs, third and last Part.



ANNE.  
1707.

meddled with any measures which are taken; for I have avoided knowing them. And yet I am now first charged in general; and when I desired that particulars might be told me, nothing is specified but the two nominated bishops. I must therefore say the same to your Grace I did when it was mentioned to me yesterday, that I never knew those two persons, I never spoke of them, nor ever thought of them, or directly or indirectly ever recommended them to the Queen, or to, or by any other person. And, my Lord, I must do myself this justice, that I am above telling a solemn lye; that I scorn the baseness of it; and that if I had known or recommended those persons, I would not have been so mean as to deny it, but would have owned it, and given my reasons for it.

And now, my Lord, since I am going into the country, and perhaps Sunday next may put an end to any farther opportunity of my troubling your Grace with letters; I beg leave to assure your Grace, that I shall always preserve an entire duty and service for your Grace; and I will add but this, that if there be any uneasiness in the Queen to comply with any proposals, I heartily wish that the true reason of it may be found out; for, as I have no hand in it, nor any friend or acquaintance of mine that I know of, so I believe that half the pains which is taken to accuse and asperse the innocent, would discover the true cause, and provide the remedy.

I shall trouble your Grace no more upon this subject; I humbly beseech you to forgive what is extorted by the undeserved misrepresentations made of him, who has neither in thought, word, or deed, contradicted the title of being, with the utmost sincerity,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

R. HARLEY \*.

\* Mr. Harley was removed from the office of Secretary of State in February 1708.

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*Mr. Harley's Plan of administration.*

October 30th, 1710.

THE particulars I had the honour to speak upon at Windsor, were comprehended under these general heads.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

## ENGLAND.

## SCOTLAND.

## IRELAND.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—It is absolutely necessary that the Queen should have such Ministers abroad, who will set in a right line her Majesty's proceedings, and give true accounts of affairs where they reside; no time should be lost in doing this, because the Parliament draws near, and wrong representations on either side will be very dangerous.

The Hague \* is the centre of business and intelligence, and is first to be taken care of.

Vienna and Turin †.—These two are in the next place to be considered, and the rather because there does seem to be a secret which is concealed from all here.

Portugal and Spain,—deserve the next thought and care, and which will be the result of the negotiations in the places before mentioned.

I crave leave to make this observation, that when foreign Ministers have other dependencies than on the Prince who sends them, their Master's business is the least of their care.

The vigour of the Queen's proceedings, hath recovered the respect only due to her Majesty; and those in Holland, who had their eyes

\* Lord Townshend was then at the Hague, and soon afterwards succeeded by Lord Strafford.  
† Lord Peterborough was soon after appointed for those Courts.

elsewhere,

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elsewhere, begin to turn them to her Majesty. It is necessary this should be cultivated by an able Minister there. I will add but this general note on this head; that the most popular thing to England, is, to press all the allies to keep exactly to what they have agreed to do in their treaties; the partiality to them has been much complained of, and the pressing, roundly, their exact performing is the likeliest way to obtain peace.

Domestic affairs are next in order, viz.

ENGLAND.—The Queen has had an opportunity of seeing where the true strength and inclination of the people are; though in many places the Crown officers have appeared the other way, and in all places the faction have been for many years possessed of the power.

The great care should be, that this bent and disposition of the people should be guided and directed for the Queen's service, and the public good, and not be at the disposal of particular persons. The two chief methods to do this, is, 1st, By a steady management. 2d, Avoiding to give jealousies.

To consider the several particulars:

The Lawyers.—The alterations lately made there, seem to have secured the most valuable part of that gown.

The Clergy.—These are more numerous, and now very much united; there is not much difficulty in making this body dependant on, and useful to the government, if the Queen's servants will sincerely go about it. The true reasons of the division have been, that the Ministers of State would support the minor part of the clergy against the major, who were excluded from preferments; and those were engrossed by the lesser part, who were afraid also of some animadversions upon some of their number, for unwarrantable books they had published. The way will be, to let both sides know the Queen is resolved to have peace; if the Archbishop \* were con-

\* Tennison.

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vinced of that, he would no longer foment these divisions, nor be a tool to a great Lord \*.

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On the other hand, if the Queen allows the Lower House to proceed on business, it must be such as shall be first agreed upon; and they are to know, they are on their good behaviour; should they be extravagant, they can hurt none but themselves, and are easily sent going.

The making popular and able men chaplains, will also go a great way in engaging all the valuable men amongst them.

The Queen's Ministers come next to be considered.

The Faction have no hope but from divisions at Court, and at this time it will be of very ill consequence, if, by the behaviour of any of those † who have credit with the Queen, there should be a pretence in either House to doubt what the Queen's mind is.

The Queen is the centre of power and union; if a breach be suffered to be made in her Ministry, the enemy will enter at that breach.

One thing deserves most serious and immediate thought, viz. In what manner the General shall be received at his return, and how the rest of the Queen's servants are to live with him.

The Parliament.—The House of Lords. The faction have most of their strength there; and most of their able men, and they will attempt to unite themselves at the first by some vote; therefore no time should be lost in securing those who are to be had before they are engaged too far the other way; such as,

Earl Peterborough,

Lord Haverham,

Lord Mohun,

Lord Fitzwalter, and others.

House of Commons.—The majority there is apparent. The Queen's servants must have directions to be prudent in conducting this majority; and the pleasing the clergy, avoiding giving

\* Probably Lord Somers.

† Duke and Duchess of Somerset probably alluded to.

jealousies.

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jealousies, and the hopes of places after, will render that House easy this session.

There is one weak place where the enemy may attack \*, and that is, the affair of the House of Hanover; but that must be left to the Queen's great wisdom to consider how to prevent it.

The next material points are,

Army, Admiralty.—The same consideration is applicable to both; that is, to make the officers for both services dependant on the Crown. One easy method will do this, which is the practice every where else, viz. That the beginning of every year, the Queen appoints all the general officers who shall serve that year, and in what place: the same for the flags and captains.

The next is, that the Queen suffers no one to dispose of regiments but herself †: this is what all other Princes and States do, and the Dutch have lately renewed this order again, upon the abuses committed after the battle of Taniers: and the Queen may declare this as a standing order of government in the next Council.

Scotland, Ireland, and the West Indies, may be reserved for another paper.

\* Mr. Harley knew, that was a very delicate thing to touch with the Queen.

† This levelled at the Duke of Marlborough.

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1712.*Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke.*

My Lord,

Versailles, Dec. 28-17th, 1712.

I ARRIVED at Paris the 18-7th, Sunday, having gone the day before about four leagues out of my way, to meet the Duke d'Aumont, who was then on his way to England. I thought my so doing shewed respect to a man of his quality, and hope the conversation I had with him may set him right, as to some company that may probably offer themselves to him upon his arrival at London.

I went on Monday to Versailles, and immediately found a gentleman with a compliment from Monf. Torcy, how much he longed to see me, &c. which, as soon as he did, he fell upon the topic of Tournay, and the Elector of Bavaria. He will not allow that Prince's interest to be sufficiently secured, since he is only to have a temporary and conditional provision allowed to him in those provinces, of which the States are in the mean time to be real masters; who (notwithstanding what is now stipulated for him) may turn him out at their pleasure, except some guarantee is formed in his behalf to put it out of their power, as it may be in their will, to hurt him. Not but that all this while the Court of France is very well pleased with what the Queen has done; but that they wish she would do more, and that some further temperament may easily be found to secure the States from any apprehensions they may lie under from the Elector's being too near them, and screen that Prince's honour a little from being (as Monsieur Torcy calls it) under Dutch guards\*. I need not tell your arguments, for I had them from you my Lord, which I used to Monsieur Torcy upon this occasion. In short the whole matter lies

\* He was to have resided in towns which had Dutch garrisons.

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so, that the peace may go on upon it, which is the point we sought, and the Queen may do more for this Prince, as her interest and generosity persuade. Count Monostrole saw Mons. De Torcy the same night, paid me a visit the next morning, and expressed, in the civilest terms imaginable, the great obligations his master had to her Majesty, but still insisting that she is the arbitress of Europe, and may, as she pleases, relieve a Prince who will have an eternal sense of her goodness. Monostrole went the same day to Compeigne to the Elector, and you will hear more of him yet before I close my letter.

The next morning I had an audience of the King, in which I repeated to him (according to my instructions) the desire her Majesty had, that the negociation, which had been too long obstructed, should be brought to a speedy conclusion; and that her Majesty had given such orders to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht as might most effectually oblige the States General without delay to enter into her measures, and such as might at the same time most properly conduce to favour the Elector of Bavaria's interests, as his Majesty desired. He interrupted me, and said, he hoped the giving up Tournay \* would have that effect, and that her Majesty could not oblige him more in any thing; that he desired, as much as possible, the conclusion of the peace, and a good correspondence between the nations, and did, and would do all he could to obtain it; of which, he said, I should assure her Majesty, and return his thanks to her for the letter *qu'elle a eu la bonté de m'écrire*.

I went on to say, there remained between their Majesties some bounds in North America to be regulated, and some general points to be settled, upon which a treaty of commerce might be founded. He answered, that his ministers had received his full orders upon

\* The giving up Tournay was, at least, balanced by restoring Lille to France.

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those heads. As to what I added, that her Majesty had named the Duke of Shrewsbury her Ambassador for France, he answered, that the Queen had done him a great pleasure in naming a person of the quality and merit of that Lord.

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I have gone over the other points of my instructions with Monf. De Torcy. As to the difficulties from Madrid, concerning the tenure of Sicily, and its remaining any way feudatory to Spain; I have for answer, that the most Christian King understands that the cession of that kingdom is agreed, and shall be executed in the sense in which her Majesty has understood it, and to be clogged with no other restriction than that of its being neither alienated nor changed without the consent of Spain; and that the Marquis de Monteleon has full powers from King Philip to declare himself upon that point to her Majesty's satisfaction. Of this I believe your Lordship will be satisfied before you receive my letter; for I met the Marquis de Monteleon near Dover; and he told me the substance of what I now write to you.

As to the barrier insisted on by the Duke of Savoy, Monf. Torcy refers me to his last letter to your Lordship, in which he plainly says, that whole affair is adjusted as much as ever it will be; that his Royal Highness has liberty to fortify his frontier, upon the private assurance given, that he will not fortify Pignerol; that he has more on the side of France than he has had for 140 years past; and that what he now asks is the ancient *domain* of the crown; that he has more reason to be satisfied than any Prince in the war; and that the King hopes he will not fatigue the Queen any further, after her having obtained such vast acquisitions for him.

The Cardinal de Tremouille writes from Rome to this Court, that 1500 Germans are ready to embark at Naples, in pretence for Sardinia, but in reality for Sicily. This is a matter which nearly re-

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gards the Duke of Savoy, and is worth our immediate notice. The most expeditious way of sending any orders hereupon to our fleet (your Lordship knows) will be through this kingdom to Genoa.

As to the interests of the Duke of Lorrain, which I told Mons. Torcy, the Queen had ordered me to mention here, as she had instructed her Plenipotentiaries to sustain them at Utrecht, I have as favourable an answer as I could hope. I send your Lordship inclosed the memorial I gave, and the answer, and shall impart it to the Minister of that Prince here, that he may plead the particularities of his master's pretensions.

I come to our own point so long discussed, and so very much embroiled, I mean that of Newfoundland.

The project of a treaty with France which I brought over, was received from the Plenipotentiaries the 8th of April 1712, as I find upon the endorsement. Mons. De Torcy shews me another plan entitled, *Projet proposé par l'Angleterre*, received from their Plenipotentiaries the 8th of August 1712. I send your Lordship a transcript of the different articles of these two projects relating to Newfoundland, as likewise an extract of some letters from our Plenipotentiaries to your Lordship; and amongst yours, I presume you will find others of the same tenour. I have likewise read over with Mons. Torcy what their Plenipotentiaries have writ upon the same subject. In the whole transaction I find a good deal of *brouillon*, and by the express which came three days since from Utrecht, it is evident they never will agree till respective orders are sent for their so doing, from hence, and from Whitehall. After long and sower but civil discourses upon this point, Mons. Torcy and Desmarais still insisting upon their undoubted and never yielded right to Cape Breton (in which I am afraid they are too well founded), and the latter having still his eye upon their Chapeau-rouge, or keeping to the

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the preliminaries which give them the liberty of fishing where they used, which indeed was as well along Chapeau-rouge, as the Petit Port, I said it was in vain for them to send to Utrecht for an explanation of these matters; for without Placentia, and the advantages which ought naturally to follow its being given up, that article could never be accorded by the British nation; and that I took only a previous liberty of saying this, which the Duke of Shrewsbury would confirm within these four days. They agreed that the thing must be adjusted here and at London; and Mons. Torcy took notes of the several proposals I made. Amongst which, I confess I did not mention the offer of half Cape Breton, since the whole had been offered several months before (as your Lordship sees), and had been rejected. After all, I have received this inclosed proposal from Mons. De Torcy, and send it into England for the Queen's approbation or refusal; which I would not have ventured to have done, but that I think it gets us safely off from the too extensive clause in the preliminaries, gives us the advantage in every part of the fishery, leaves the Queen entirely mistress of all that is worth having in Newfoundland, and does really (as Mons. Desmarais † expresses it), drive the French *au bout du monde*. Mons. Dowdel, the person recommended to us by Gillingham †, and a friend or two here with whom I have talked concerning this matter, and who have been at Newfoundland, are all agreed, that from Cape Roy northward, is a fishery yet unknown, and such as has been reckoned not worth trying; and that the whole fishery, except a less sort in the Petit Port, lies southward from Bona Vista, to Cape De Race, and from thence, along the Bay of Placentia, to Chapeau Rouge and Cape Roy, which is now in her Majesty's hands, without the French being any way to interfere therein.

† Minister of the Finances, nephew to Colbert.

† An Irish agent employed about the Affiento.

I have

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I have conferred, as well at Paris as here, with the two ministers I named before, upon the settling and renewing our commerce: I send your Lordship inclosed a little memorial, which I gave them as a sort of text to our conference, and a ground for a future treaty. There was no need of my explaining the condition of *amicissima gens* as the mutual principle upon which we desired to stand: this, I find, has been distinctly handled and abundantly disputed at Utrecht. The observation that Mons. Desmarais made upon it is very obvious; that, upon this principle, we should be with France as the Hollanders are, as specified in the tariff of 1664; that the reason why the Hollanders had in great measure the benefit of this tariff was, that they had laid no impositions on the goods of France imported into their provinces; yet the methods of commerce and the necessary *droits*, which this kingdom has been forced to raise, are such, as that France must deny that tariff to them (the Hollanders) particularly as to the *quatre especes*, whale-bone and whale-oil; woollen cloth, and serges; sugars, according to their several refinements; and all sort of salt fish in barrel. Upon all which heads Mons. Desmarais asserts, it would be impossible that France should trade with Holland, except these commodities and the manner of importing them, were regulated by the tariff of 1699, or some other equivalent proportion. Upon the article of salt fish, I was very glad to hear Mons. Desmarais say, that whoever imports it into this kingdom, must find it considerably advantageous; my thought was, that this ought to be a fair argument to us to mind and improve our fishery upon the coasts of Scotland; for it is this sort of fish which the Dutch import chiefly hither, and which the French mean to bring to the above-mentioned tariff.

Mons. Desmarais explains himself very much upon the head of an entire prohibition being very prejudicial to both nations, but more so to England, he says, than to France; and that the high duties on both sides ought to be taken off, and brought to a just medium,

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dium, which he thinks impossible to be done but by commissioners to be named to that purpose; for that this must cost a great deal of time, for the French can only take off their duties, as we shall take off ours, and the alteration of their edicts must go *pari passu* with that of our acts of parliament.

To what I objected, that the King being absolute master of his edicts might in the mean time take away the entire prohibition of several of our commodities, particularly those specified in the edict of 1701, Sept. 6th; he answered, that we had likewise entire prohibitions; for instance, their silks were as absolutely forbid on our side, as our cloth is on theirs; and repeated, that the taking off the entire prohibitions, and the alleviations of the high duties must go gradually and equally on both sides, or always be made on one side, upon condition that the other perform his part, and be intended to take place accordingly at such a time; for that if the prohibition on the French side were (as I seemed to think reasonable) immediately taken off, the English would run a glut of their goods into France, sufficient to serve the nation for two or three years; while (says he) we, the French, shall remain *les bras croisez*, the English knowing the certain duties payable in France, and the French expecting how, or in what time, the duties upon their goods shall be taken off in England.

Upon the whole, he has given this answer to the proposals I gave him, as what might serve for a ground-work to a treaty of commerce. It was yesterday read in Council, and I received it this morning from Monf. De Torcy, together with a scheme of the chief commodities which France sends to England, which he desires may be returned with the specific duties payable in England upon every head; and what time may probably be asked for the alleviating any part of them. And he desired we should send a like scheme of English goods, which we import chiefly into France, and promises

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to give us thereupon a reciprocal account, the King being very willing to open a trade as soon, and as fairly as possible, with his old friends: but he concludes, that the confusion and misunderstanding of twenty years will not be redressed without a good deal of time and labour.

The usual articles, therefore, of a treaty of commerce, that of the *droit d'aubaine*, that of the *tare*, and what your Lordship sees is pretty nearly adjusted, may be agreed and signed at Utrecht, with the treaty of peace, but in a distinct instrument, and as a treaty of commerce; and in it the specialties as to the manner of diminishing the *droits*, and regulating the tariff must be provided for by one general clause.

I have waited on Mons. Pontchartrain \*, and not perceiving that the list of ships taken (as we allege) contrary to the terms of the cessation, or to the usual maritime laws which I formerly left with him, has been regarded, I left another list with him, to which, he says, I shall have an answer in a few days.

John Wynne (the poor man so often taken and re-taken), with his ship, are set at liberty; and our subjects, of which I have a long list, (which I think comes from Col. Nicholson), that are, we say, taken against their wills, and confined at Canada, will have leave to return to Boston, or wherever we think proper, provided they are not habituated in Canada, and had rather stay there than otherwise, Of this I shall send you more by my next.

\* Minister of the Marine.

*From the Same to the Same.*

Paris, 29th Dec. 1712.

I TOLD your Lordship I should hear more from the Elector of Bavaria; I did so by Monsr. Torcy last night. Count Monostrole \* repeats his master's acknowledgments to her Majesty, and his desire that she will set him as free as her present circumstances of affairs may permit; and in a visit this morning to Monsr. Voisin, he let fall, as seeming by chance, that it was not thought the Dutch would ever pretend to garrison Luxemburg.

Monostrole complains, and the Ministers here second the complaints, that Bonne, the very and only residence of the Elector of Cologne, is to be garrisoned by Imperial troops; and Liege and Huy, by Dutch.

Monostrole has represented from his master, to the most Christian King, that a formal treaty was made in 1704, between the Electrice and the late Emperor Joseph, not one word of which has been complied with, nor any recompence made him upon what was therein stipulated; that the House of Austria, not to count thirteen millions of florins which they formerly owed him, have, during this war, seized all his magazines, cannon, goods, plate, jewels, and pictures; that Rottembourg, the adjacent countries, and other large tracts of land, which are now comprehended in the Upper Palatinate, have been bought by the House of Bavaria, *à beaux deniers contants*, and by consequence should be referred to him.

In these points his most Christian Majesty would desire the Queen to favour this Prince, and as he has given Monsr. Torcy order to mention them to me, the Duke d'Aumont will likewise have order to speak of them in England.

\* The Bavarian Minister.



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Another point, upon which this court is very solicitous, is, that the Chevalier's remaining in any town in France obstructs the signing the peace, and yet he cannot go to Lorrain till the Emperor's passport secure him there; your Lordship, by the perusal of the papers inclosed, will see the state of that case: and I have only to add upon this subject, that the court of France expresses an impossibility on their side to do more than they have done, and hopes we should have interest enough with the Emperor to obtain such passports from him, as may secure as well the person who is to go into Lorrain, as the Duke of Lorrain who is to receive him.

I have not heard from Utrecht since my arrival in France; but I presume I shall hear in a few days, Sunday next being the last day allowed for their determination. And if you approve the proposal relating to Newfoundland, and judge the scheme of commerce such as may form a general article, I think, we are ready, let what will happen.

I am more pleased with the proposal as to Newfoundland, because I see Mons. Pontchartrain, and some others, heartily disquieted at it. Mons. Torcy's letters from Utrecht say, that of the provinces, Frize, Utrecht, and Gueldre, were for the peace; and of Holland, the towns which stood chiefly out, were Delft, Rotterdam, and Leyden.

The Duke of Argyle is here, and desires a yacht may be immediately ordered to Calais for his passage: he will tell your Lordship that the affair of Catalonia remains *in statu quo*. Mons. Torcy has received advice that the Duke of Berwick is within a day's march of Starembourg; that he has an army of forty battalions and fifty squadrons, much superior to that of the enemy. Mons. Voisin \* tells me, the French are 25,000 effective men; and he reckons the Germans not above 13,000. The Duke of Argyle computes the Germans to be nearer 20,000.

\* Secretary at war.

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For home news, I saw the Dauphin yesterday; he was brought to the King at table; the child looks very well, a little pale; he is handsome, and seems to have a good deal of spirit. I expect the Duke of Shrewsbury here on Saturday or Sunday. We have taken a rambling apartment for him in l'Hotel de Soissons, which was the best however that we could find in all Paris.

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I have writ rather a journal than a letter; the diversity of the subjects which it contains must plead my excuse; in every part of it I have done my best for the Queen's service, and I leave it to your great friendship to me, to give it the most candid interpretation. I am with great truth and respect.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
and most humble servant,

M. PRIOR\*.

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*From the Same to the Same.*

My Lord,

Paris, the 8th of January, N. S. 1713.

I HAD scarce closed the letter which I did myself the honour to write to you two days since, by Mr. Campbell, and wherein I told you that Monsieur Torcy had summoned me to Versailles, in order to inform me of what he had received from his master's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, when I likewise received the inclosed from the Lords Privy-Seal, and Strafforde, containing the points which yet lie between her Majesty and this court. I have conferred upon them all in general with Monsieur Torcy; and with Messrs. Desmarais, and Pontchartrain, upon those which more immediately regard their respective provinces; and upon the whole send you the

\* It is not improper to observe, that the whole negociation for the peace of Utrecht was carried on extraprovincially by Lord Bolingbroke.

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result of my conferences, which I hope you will find to be such, as may facilitate the orders which our ambassadors expect from your Lordship.

As to what relates, in Monsieur Torcy's Memoire, to the fourth article, concerning the words *Titulum assumpsit & nomen usurpavit*, or *sibi arrogavit*, since there never was any thing in that grammatical controversy but its having been disputed, I take it for granted the matter is long since adjusted, or may very easily be so, our ambassadors not taking notice of it in the inclosed *points in dispute*. However, I was satisfied that Monsieur Torcy should send his remarks upon it, since his so doing is a kind of *Ouvert-acte*, by which the French do once more previously acknowledge what they are to stipulate with us in that behalf.

The point concerning the sluices at Dunkirk, will admit of no difficulty, it having depended upon the essential difference between demolishing the fortifications, and drowning the country; and upon the report which Mr. Hill, according to our ambassadors, and which your Lordship, according to Monsieur Torcy, have made on this subject.

As to the limits of Hudson's-bay, and what the ministry here seem to apprehend, at least in virtue of the general expression, *tout ce que l'Angleterre a jamais possédé de ce côté-là* (which they assert to be wholly new, and which I think is really so, since our plenipotentiaries make no mention of it), may give us occasion to encroach at any time upon their dominions in Canada, I have answered, that since, according to the *carte* which came from our plenipotentiaries, marked with the extent of what was thought our dominion, and returned by the French with what they judged the extent of theirs, there was no very great difference, and that the parties who determine that difference must be guided by the same *carte*, I thought that article would admit no dispute, in case it be either determined immediately by the plenipotentiaries, or referred to commissioners.

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I take leave to add to your Lordship, that these limitations are no otherwise advantageous or prejudicial to Great Britain, than as we are better or worse with the native Indians, and that the whole is a matter rather of industry than dominion. If there be any real difference between *restitution* and *cession*, quæritur? yet since in either case the right of the inhabitant, as to transferring his goods and effects, or disposing of his person and family, is always provided for in treaty, I leave it to your Lordship's better judgment, if a fixed time in either case (suppose eighteen months or two years), does not put the subject who is to have the benefit which *restitution* or *cession* grants him, upon a more equal foot, and consequently less to be contested, than if the terms of time were different. Your Lordship sees the limitation comes up pretty near to what our plenipotentiaries insist upon, (*i. e.* a year,) allowing some months for those people in those remote parts, to be informed of the agreement made here. This article therefore, if agreed, will comprehend those of Hudson's-bay, Newfoundland, Acadia, and St. Christophers.

Our plenipotentiaries mention nothing relating to the tenth article, by which, in Monsieur Torcy's Memoire, your Lordship sees those of France demand that the subjects of that crown may exhibit their complaints to commissioners hereafter to be named, in relation to their losses at Nevis and Gambia (I mean what we owe them as to Nevis) in like manner as the subjects of her Majesty are to exhibit their complaints as to Hudson's-bay. Your Lordship will see that I have got a like clause added in favour of her Majesty's subjects, for the losses they sustained last year at Montserrat, which I hope may indemnify the particular sufferers in that case, and prevent the ill effects which (as your Lordship wrote me word some months since), might be apprehended from the murmurs raised upon that subject.

The demand which our plenipotentiaries make, that the French shall not fish within thirty leagues of the S. E. of Acadia, *i. e.* upon the

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the long bank which runs from west to east before that country, was founded upon this assertion, that while Acadia was in the French hands, we were obliged to the like restriction, and consequently the words in the proposal lately sent, " que la province de l'Acadie, " avec tous droits & prerogatives dont les Francois ont joui sera " cedée par sa Majesté, à la reine de la Grande Bretagne," admit our claim, and finish the dispute, as Monsieur Torcy observes in the enclosed memorial. But as to their being forbid to fish within ten leagues of the north west of Acadie, Messrs. Torcy and Desmarais think the proposition wholly new, alledge it deprives them of the benefit of fishing on the coast of Cape Breton, and cannot but cause (what in every other part of our demands we seem to avoid) a future and frequent dispute between the fishers of each nation.

The restraining their fishery to an exact time, *i. e.* between the 1st of April and the 20th of September, they likewise except against as new, and hope it will not be insisted on; Monsieur Torcy civilly taking notice, that we were not so unkind to offer such a restriction to the Hollanders, or any other nation upon any occasion, or at any time; and Monsieur Desmarais, with more warmth, proving it impracticable; that their fishers setting out from hence, considering the hazards of wind, and uncertainties of their voyage, might either be on the coasts before the day prescribed, and in this case must stay unactive, at the loss both of their time and their provision, or coming too late, would not be able to cure, and return with their fish within a convenient season. This, they said, was not of a piece with the *Gens Amicissima*, and would be rather an unkind mark of distinction set upon them, than a real advantage to us.

The isle of St. Peter, which our plenipotentiaries say the French demand, your Lordship will see is yielded to us in those words of the proposal lately sent, *avec la Terre Neuve et les isles adjacentes a cette isle*. The reason why (as your Lordship will remember) Monsieur Mesnager last year insisted so much upon this isle of St.

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Peter's, and why the French would have confined our possession of the isles round Newfoundland to a certain distance, out of which St. Peter's would yet be exempted, is, that though they had yielded as they have done by the proposal that part of the coasts to us, as to drying, &c. they still would have had the convenience of drying upon this little isle; but it is now evidently given to us, as belonging to Newfoundland; and they take the isle of St. Paul to be as evidently yielded to them, as belonging to Cape Breton; and so the whole matter rests plain and determined, supposing always that the proposal be agreed to.

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Give me leave, my Lord, to remark upon this head of Newfoundland, that the last offer made by the French plenipotentiaries to ours, that they (the French) should fish from the bay of Fortune, round by the North to Bonavista, was the same which the ministers here offered to me; and from the bay of Fortune, they receded to Cape Roy. But in the proposal sent by me, their liberty begins only from Point Rich; for there is a great tract between the bay and the cape, as likewise between the cape and the point above-mentioned; and both these tracts capable of an excellent fishery, which, as I have heard, declines in its value, as the island from Point Rich grows straiter towards the N. E.

The difference in the treaty of commerce, relating to liberty of the subjects trading is, your Lordship sees, by the inclosed Memoire, agreed in the manner as our plenipotentiaries desire. As is likewise the stipulation desired, that the tariff of 1664, shall be the base upon which our mutual commerce shall be founded, and the rule to which our acts of Parliament and the French edicts shall be reduced.

I add to your Lordship this little book of their edicts, not knowing if it is not rare in England. I came only to Paris to dispatch this courier, and go again to Versailles to-morrow, to see what these people have further to say to me, before the King goes to

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Marly, which will be on Wednesday, after which the ten days of his staying there makes a sort of vacancy from all business.

I expect his Grace of Shrewsbury here every day, having advice, that on the 3d, he was at Margate, and expected the next day at Calais.

I am with great respect,

My Lord,

You Lordship's, &c.

M. PRIOR.

*Draught of a Letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior.*

Whitehall, January the 19th, 1712-13.

I SHOULD not have taken so much time before I answered your letters of the 28th of December, and of the 8th of January N. S. if I had not thought that the arrival of the Duke of Shrewsbury, with her Majesty's particular orders upon the chief points in dispute, would render my letter in a great measure needless. I am now to acknowledge those letters, as well as that of the 5th of January which came by Colonel Campbell, and to thank you for the care you have taken in the several matters committed to your charge, and the steps you have made towards facilitating the whole.

I shall confine myself at present to two points in your letters, which are the principal ones that concern us, I mean that of Newfoundland in our treaty of peace, and that of a clear settling the tariff of 1664, in our treaty of commerce.

I must observe to you in the first place, that *Article* 12, concerning Newfoundland and Cape Breton, sent in your letter of the 28th of December, and delivered as an article proposed in that manner by the plenipotentiaries of Britain, is fallacious, and might lead you to think that we had yielded up the possession of Cape Breton. To rectify this, I send you the article as I received it from her Majesty's ministers,



ministers, in their letter of the 9th of August, 1712, by which you will see on one side how the article was proposed by us, and on the other, what alterations the French insisted on, which has hitherto remained the insurmountable difficulty.

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You seem, by some expressions in your letter of the 28th, to lie under a persuasion that the French have an undoubted, and never yielded right to Cape Breton; which is a position we never consented to here; on the contrary her Majesty looked upon the cession of Acadia or Nova Scotia, *selon ses anciens limites*, to comprehend Cape Breton. But upon the representations made on the part of France, that it was impossible their navigation to Canada could subsist, without some place nearer than the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, for their ships to touch at, the Queen agreed to allow them, not the whole island, but the possession in common, without fortifying there on either side. This indeed the French objected to, as liable to great inconveniencies; and therefore you found among the alternatives, that it was proposed that we should have one half, and the French the other. Thus the dispute held, till the Queen was pleased to determine in her instructions to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that she would yield the propriety of all Cape Breton to the French, on condition that they gave us something for it, that is, the right of fishery reserved to them on the coast of Newfoundland. This is the *ultimatum* which his Grace has at present to propose; for it was not thought fit to add, what we see we may obtain when we shall please to come to it, that is, the restraining their fishery to the Petit Nord, to be reckoned from Cape Bonavista northward, round as far as Point Riche, which, as you observe, is the most favourable concession that we have yet had from France upon this difference. For the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, have not receded hitherto any farther, as I find, than to Cape de la Hau, or the bay of Fortune.

I hope I have explained myself clearly as to the business of Cape Breton and Newfoundland. I shall now proceed to the articles

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which we desire to be reinserted in the treaty of commerce, and particularly to that concerning the tariff of 1664, which is No. 5, in the paper marked B, among the papers you received from my office, and is the most essential to our interest of any of the rest. I doubt not but you will have seen by my letter of the 24th of December to my Lords the plenipotentiaries (a transcript whereof was sent to the Duke of Shrewsbury), how ample I was in settling our notion, and that which I apprehended France to have, in relation to the regulating of the duties on each side. By their Lordship's answer, (which you have in the inclosed extract of their letter to me, of the 10th of January) you will see that the point in dispute is set in quite another light than I had took it to be, and the work of the Commissioners is reduced only to the settling of equivalents for the four species, and those other things which we demand over and above the tariff of 1664. This brings our dispute into a narrow compass. If the four species, or any alleviation of them, be granted to the Dutch, of course we shall have the same; or at least her Majesty will think it a point gained to have those differences referred to Commissioners. As to the other points, the articles No. 1. 3. 6. in paper B. are such as our plenipotentiaries think may be obtained; and as to the business of consuls, trading from port to port; and the tobacco farm, I understand she would not have the signing of the treaty deferred on that account; they may likewise be referred to Commissioners if the four species are, though her Majesty, as I conceive, would rather chuse to avoid leaving any thing to Commissioners, who, she fears, will do no good in getting any pretence to garble our present book of rates. Indeed, as the plenipotentiaries say in May last, the Queen, who did not know how soon she might be pressed to conclude her treaties, was willing to refer such difficulties as could not be adjusted at Utrecht, to the care of Commissioners; but her Majesty having since had time enough to consider maturely of all those matters, concurs with the French King in his opinion, as explained in the inclosed.

closed, and is most desirous that all cause of dispute should be removed, and the whole concluded at Utrecht.

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If therefore the true intention of France be such, as it is set forth by our plenipotentiaries, we shall have no great difficulty at last to compromise the whole. But if their view is, as you seem to take it, and several expressions in your letters lead me to believe, that they can only take off their duties, as we shall take off ours, that the alteration of their edicts must go *pari passu* with that of our acts of Parliament, and that all must be gradually and equally settled on both sides, this is what we cannot consent to, which will, in its consequence as we apprehend, either put us under the necessity of changing the whole scheme of our book of rates, which is impracticable in our present circumstances, or of being deprived of the enjoyment of the tariff of 1664, till we do it. The foundation laid down, and agreed to on both sides, is *Amicissima Gens*; thence we infer that the French shall grant no privilege or exemption to any foreign nation, which we shall not enjoy. This, they in words consent to do. Then we offer to put their goods upon the same foot as those of the like nature from any foreign nation, and to take away all prohibitions made since the year 1664. Upon this, they object that our duties are extremely high, that they do not bear a proportion to the tariff of 1664, and that they must be brought down to that standard, otherwise commerce cannot be fairly settled between the two nations. This is, in effect, to insist that we should make a new tariff on purpose for them, and treat them better than we do any other foreign nation at present, or that we cannot fairly and justly pretend to enjoy the tariff of 1664, as the Dutch are to do, who have laid few or no impositions on the goods and manufactures of France. This, you see, carries the dispute off from the first principle, and leads us to an intricate detail, and an endless discussion of the value of goods, and the proportion of duties on each side. These mazes we can never think of entering into. The

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position is plain, as it is stated in article No. 5\*, that we will not pretend to enjoy the tariff of 1664, till *two months after* the Parliament have brought the duties payable on French commodities to a parity with those payable on the like goods from any other foreign country, &c. which we reckon will give an extreme great advantage to France, since it is well known how much more preferable their goods are here, than those of the same sort from other parts.

From what I have here laid down you will observe, that neither what you say in the second article of your Memorial of the 21st of December; "Nous tacherons, &c. de maniere que les conditions, *en seront egales de part et d'autre,*" nor what the French say in answer to it; much less what is proposed in the paper received from Monsieur de Torcy the 7th of January ("Lorsque, par acte du Parlement de la Grande Bretagne, les droits sur les denrées du cru, manufactures, et marchandizes de France, *seront réduits à la mesme proportion de ceux qui doivent se lever in France, sur les denrées du cru, manufactures, et marchandizes de la Grande Bretagne, suivant le tariff de l'année 1664, les sujets de la Grande Bretagne jouiront alors en France du tariff de la dite année de 1664,*") is conformable either to the article No. 5, which the Queen directed to be insisted upon, or to what I have said in explanation of that article, or to the sense my lords the plenipotentiaries understand the proposals of France in. I may take notice, that our offer of not enjoying the tariff of 1664, till *two months after* that we have brought down the excessive duties on the goods of France, to the same foot with those of other nations, and have taken off all prohibitions since 1664, removes entirely the objections of Monsieur Desmarais, that we should immediately come into the benefit of the Tariff 1664; that we should throw a glut of goods into France,

\* It was this very point on which the treaty of commerce was rejected by the House of Commons, the whole body of merchants in London being against the bill.

and

and that in the mean time the French would stand *les bras croisez*, and have nothing to do.

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I hope I have put the Queen's sense (as expressed in the reasons directed to be used in the paper concerning commerce, put into your hands in my office) upon this grand point, in so clear a light, as not to be mistaken. I am sure I have not spared repetition rather than to leave the explanation defective. If I have not the good fortune to be thoroughly intelligible, I own my incapacity of saying any thing more explicit upon this subject. I cannot conclude without observing that I find, in Monsieur Torcy's Memorial upon the differences in the treaty of peace, that the French run into a misconstruction of the Queen's sense, in what they advance concerning the liberty of selling *the immoveable estates* in the places restored or yielded. As to the *moveables*, and such like effects, her Majesty had no objection to it from the beginning. But what concerns the *immoveables*, it was a new pretension of the French plenipotentiaries inserted in their counter-project, and what the Queen has not as yet in anywise consented to. In my letter of the 20th of December, to the Lords plenipotentiaries (of which the Duke of Shrewsbury has a copy), you will see more fully the absurdity which we think will follow from this general rule. Hudson's bay is such an usurpation upon us, that no right can be acquired of selling those lands to us again. St. Christophers we have taken from the French, as likewise Acadia; which, upon this foot, they would pretend to sell to us, after we have conquered them. As for their settlements in those parts of Newfoundland which they are to give up to us; it appears to me that they may be better founded to demand a liberty of selling their immoveable estates there; since, though we keep up an antient claim to the whole island, yet I do not know that we were ever violently, or in breach of treaties, driven out of those possessions. *Intra annum* was the time allowed to the English to dispose of their immoveable estates in Acadia, when that country was in our possession, and shamefully,

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shamefully, against the interest of the nation, and our antient right delivered up by the treaty of Breda into the hands of the French.

The arrival of fresh letters, and new resolutions taken in council, oblige me to finish this dispatch, and to refer myself to a long instruction, which by the Queen's order I have prepared for my Lord Duke,  
I am, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Lord Bolingbroke to the Duke of Shrewsbury.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, February the 17th, 1712-13.

IT falls again to my share to convey her Majesty's orders to your Grace upon the present state of the negociation of peace, and I cannot but hope that the effect of the resolutions which the Queen is now come to, will be an immediate conclusion of the treaty between her and France. At least we shall extricate ourselves from this state of suspense, which the season of the year renders it very unsafe to continue longer in, and shall know what we have to trust to on the part of France.

Her Majesty's conduct will appear fair and uniform to the whole world, whilst that of the court where your Grace at present resides, will have a quite contrary aspect, if they do not accept these overtures, and close with the Queen at once. But I ask pardon for troubling your Grace with this preface, and proceed to communicate to you her Majesty's sense, and her directions, as I received them last night in council.

As soon as this dispatch comes to your Grace's hands, her Majesty would have you, either in conference with the French ministers, or in a memorial to be delivered to Monsieur de Torcy, or in both, make, in her name, a representation to the following effect.

That the Queen has hitherto deferred the opening of her Parliament, in hopes that those few difficulties which remain undetermined,

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ed; either in the treaties of peace and commerce between Great Britain and France, or in the discussion of the interests of her Majesty's allies, would have been entirely got over, or at least, that the former being taken away, France would have made such offers upon the latter, as might have enabled the Queen to have signed her treaty, without any farther regard to those parties who should not have thought fit to conclude at the same time. That the last letters which her Majesty has received from your Grace, as well as her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, not answering this hope which she had conceived, but on the contrary shewing that some few differences still remain undecided in the treaties between her Majesty and the most christian King, and that very little further progress has been made towards settling the interests of those powers whose demands have met with the greatest opposition; her Majesty has judged it absolutely necessary to communicate her sentiments in this important crisis, and the measures she is determined to follow, to his most christian Majesty, sincerely, and without the least reserve. That the fruit which she expects from this full communication of her intentions is, either by these means to hasten the conclusion of the general peace, or at least of the peace between her Majesty, and the crowns of France and Spain, or else, at the worst, to prevent at this season of the year, and the approach of the spring, any surprise on either side.

That you have received from the Queen, and are ready to communicate to the King, her Majesty's last resolutions, as well upon those disputes which relate particularly to the interests of Great Britain, as upon the chief points that remain undetermined in the general plan of peace.

That these are not to be looked upon as new demands on France; most of them are points which have been frequently discussed; and all of them are the most reasonable compositions which the Queen thinks



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thinks it possible to make, for accommodating the present differences, and restoring the public tranquillity.

That if his most Christian Majesty shall think fit to agree in these particulars with the Queen, your Grace has directions to give immediate notice thereof, to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to whom a courier will be dispatched from hence to-morrow morning, with the powers necessary for them to assume the character of ambassadors, and to sign the peace.

That these ministers upon the receipt of this advice from your Grace, are directed to declare in the Congress, that the interests of Great Britain and of France are entirely settled, and that they shall proceed immediately to sign her Majesty's peace.

That these ministers are likewise directed, in pursuance of this declaration, as soon as the ministers of France themselves shall desire it, and as the several instruments can be prepared, to conclude.

That it is to be hoped, all the allies will finish at the same time; but that if any of them should not be ready, her Majesty's ministers are ordered nevertheless to proceed to sign, leaving the general plan, as it is understood at Utrecht, and with the alterations and additions now proposed by her Majesty, as the scheme which such parties may, within a term to be settled between her Majesty's ministers, and those of France, come in upon.

That this proceeding on the Queen's part, is a full accomplishment of that promise which her Majesty formerly made, and has frequently repeated to the most christian King. But that the declaration, which always accompanied this promise of her Majesty's, must not be forgot; which declaration was, that if her allies did sincerely enter into dispositions for peace, and consequently if the delay of concluding did not arise from them, her Majesty would think herself obliged to keep other measures with them, and not sign without them.

That therefore if his most Christian Majesty shall not consent to the propositions which your Grace is ordered by her Majesty to make, as

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in her own behalf, as in behalf of her allies; the Queen will in pursuance of the established principle which is above-mentioned, continue her good offices for restoring the public tranquillity; but will be obliged to defer the execution of her treaty with France, until his most Christian Majesty and the other powers concerned in the treaty of peace, shall come nearer to agreement.

That, upon these considerations, and with these views, the Queen has again prorogued her Parliament to Tuesday the 3d of March old stile, that the manner of her speaking to the two houses, and indeed to the whole world, will depend upon the resolutions which the most Christian King shall take upon this occasion.

That, in one case, her Majesty will speak of her own peace as concluded, and of the terms of peace for her allies, as agreed between herself and the King, and therefore propose to her people no other provisions for the service of the year, than what are necessary for the maintenance of the common guards by sea and land in time of peace.

That, in the other case, her Majesty will be obliged to speak of the event of the negociation as still uncertain, and therefore to demand such supplies of her Parliament as may be necessary for the carrying on the war, if unhappily the negociation of peace should not succeed.

That it is now in the King's power at once to make his peace with the Queen, and to secure the success of the general treaty. That her Majesty has, through the whole course of this negociation, done all that was possible to calm the minds, and to moderate the expectation of the several allies. That the general plan of peace, with the propositions now made, comes very near to the plan which his most Christian Majesty thought fit to offer. In a word, that the Queen can reduce the demands of her allies no lower than they will, according to this scheme, stand. And that she cannot doubt the compliance of the King, since she is persuaded his Majesty will

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maintain, to the end of the negotiation, the same spirit of facility, the same sincerity, the same candour with which it was begun.

The two papers enclosed (No. 1, and No. 2.) contain her Majesty's resolution upon the disputed articles of her own peace, and of the general plan. These are what I refer to above, and what your Grace will please to offer as the Queen's *ultimatum* to the French.

Her Majesty thinks it impossible that the King can have any real difficulty in agreeing to those points, wherein she insists as to her own interests. There are but two which deserve a paragraph bestowed upon them, and they are in the 12th, and in the 14th articles of the treaty of peace. We persuade ourselves that Monsieur de Torcy's argument upon the first of these, makes directly against him, and for us. Since they agree not to fish upon the coast of Acadia, nor upon the bank, it can do them no hurt to have the boundary fixed at thirty leagues. And surely, my Lord, the naming a determinate distance is much less likely to create new disputes than a general stipulation.

The clause of *Bona Immobilia*, in the 14th article, her Majesty never heard of till the French's counter-project was transmitted about the end of December last; and she never agreed to that pretension of selling the immoveables in St. Christophers, and Acadia, upon the distinction of places yielded, and places restored. But in debating this matter it was said, by her order, (to shew the absurdity of this demand,) that the French would have more reason to expect such a privilege in Newfoundland, where they did not demand it. And from hence I observe in the paper sent me by your Grace, and marked No. 3, that Monsieur de Torcy would suppose, that this privilege was to be allowed to them in St. Christophers, in Acadia, and in Newfoundland; which surely is not, at any time, very fair, and when there is so much reason on all sides to shun delay, not very wise.

Upon

Upon the whole matter, I wish the French may as easily consent to the terms of the paper marked No. 2, as I dare say they will to that marked No. 1.

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I believe, that whenever it shall be considered, how far the demands of the allies are by her Majesty's interposition reduced, from what they formerly asked, and from what France herself would willingly have granted, the scheme of peace, as it will stand, when the propositions made by the Queen shall be accepted, must be thought such a bargain, as no side can have reason to complain of. And I beg your Grace's leave to make some observations on the principal heads.

The States General have hitherto insisted on Condé in addition to the barrier offered them, on the four species, and on all the dependencies belonging to Ypres and Tournay now disputed. Their demand of Condé, the Queen consents should be dropped; the four species she has so far given up in her own case, as to refer the discussion of them to Commissioners, and she expects that the States should do the same. Of the dependencies which are still controverted, two, viz. St. Amand and Mortagne (for the latter of which, the Dutch have the pretence of conveniency) the Queen is willing to oblige the Dutch to yield. The other two, viz. Bailleul and Poperingue, (which are neither passes nor fortresses, and in the yielding whereof, nothing is concerned, but a little more, or a little less revenue), the Queen is desirous to preserve for the States; though your Grace has a power even of departing from the former, rather than not conclude.

Surely, my Lord, upon a fair computation, the sum total of the concessions made to France, will balance that of the concessions made by France in this part of the plan which relates to Holland.

Upon the head of Bavaria, the French would do well to consider, what disadvantage their stiffness as to the barrier of the empire

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throws all arguments under, which are made use of in favour of this Elector.

The proposition which my Lord Strafford made for him some time ago, and which her Majesty thought the French intended to acquiesce in, is not without its difficulties; yet even that appears to them not sufficient for this ally; and they have been trying by all the arts of negotiation to get more for him. Though it might be expected that the Queen should think herself under no obligation, since the French ministers did not at first accept what she offered in their master's name, yet her Majesty is still willing to stand to that proposal, softened and improved to the Elector's advantage, as your Grace finds in the memorial that accompanies this letter. And the single question seems to be, whether France will be contented to accept, what, without the Queen's assistance, they could never have hoped to obtain for the Elector, or whether, they will defer their peace with the Queen, and expose the general treaty to new dangers, in order to play such a trick, as indirectly to endeavour to acquire Luxembourg, which they have in their general offers plainly yielded. For this is, without dispute, the meaning of all this late management.

I have reason to believe, from the accounts which have come to my hands of what has passed at Utrecht, that the demand made for Portugal, will go very hardly down with the French court; and yet surely there is nothing more reasonable for France to consent to, than what the Queen proposes.

Portugal was entituled to demand a considerable barrier; and whatever contempt the French ministers may think fit to treat the Portuguese with, yet they ought to pay respect to this pretension, since it was become her Majesty's pretension by the engagements she entered into when she made the treaty of 1703.

This barrier is at once given up, and in lieu thereof a promissory security only, is demanded of France and Spain. Now since  
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the Portuguese do consent to accept of this security in lieu of that which they had stipulated for themselves, and since the Queen's honour is concerned not to oblige them to part with one, without making the other effectual to them, it is to be considered, that in *Europe* no attempt can be made upon this nation, which the crown of Great Britain will not be almost as much at hand to oppose, as France or Spain can be, to carry it on; but in Brazil the case is not the same. The French \* have there slid themselves into the neighbourhood of the Portuguese, they are every day starting new pretensions, and making new encroachments upon them. The Queen is at a distance, and those feeble ill governed colonies may be overrun, before the news of their being attacked will arrive at London. Nothing therefore can be more just, than for the Queen to expect, that, in consideration of what she yields, (for that expression may be properly used) in Europe, France should yield something in America.

Further, the navigation of the river of the Amazons, cannot but give umbrage even to the Spaniards. Whoever is informed of the freest accounts which have come from those parts, and of the latest discoveries which have been made, will easily perceive, what reasons the Spaniards must have for their apprehensions.

In short, my Lord, the source of this river must belong to the Spaniards, and the mouth of it to the Portuguese, and neither the French, nor the English, nor any other nation, must have an avenue open into that country.

I am almost ashamed to have used so many words upon this subject, when I consider that I am arguing against an advantage purely notional, when I am not proving that the French ought to give up what they have had an actual possession of, but am barely desiring them to forego that, which they never enjoyed but in idea.

Your Grace may perhaps wonder why there is nothing said in the Paper No. 2, concerning the interests of the Duke of Savoy;

\* Surely he means the Spaniards. That matter, with others, was not well settled by the treaty of Utrecht.

but

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but the reason of it is, because your Grace must, without giving up the point, defer the determining of it.

The Queen observes, that in your Letter of the 16th, you are pleased to say, that France will yield what had been asked for the Duke of Savoy, to him, upon condition that his Royal Highness will yield to them *la Vallée de Barcelonette, avec les douze communautés dont elle est composée*. By the letter from the Count de Maffei to me, which comes inclosed in No. 3, your Grace will perceive, that the French ministers at Utrecht, have made the proposition in another manner, and have said, that *avec les terres proposées de la Comté de Nice, le Roy demandoit la Vallée de Barcelonette*. We take it for granted, that the instructions of the French plenipotentiaries were agreeable to what your Grace has writ; but these gentlemen, it seems, had a mind *de faire les bons valets*, and it is no wonder we do not know the true sense of the ministers of Savoy upon this offer of the French court, since the King's ministers have not truly stated the offer to the ministers of his Royal Highness.

It is therefore the Queen's pleasure, that your Grace should open this matter to Monsieur de Torcy, and should let him know, that for this reason the Queen has not spoken so peremptorily on this head, as she has done upon others; but that her Majesty will insist to the last to obtain for his Royal Highness, that which is necessary for his security, he giving the equivalent he has offered, or something equal to that equivalent, for it. Whether the Valley de Barcelonette be that something or no, the Queen cannot yet determine; and upon this occasion, my Lord, I cannot forbear making two reflections on the conduct which the French court has held, and the arguments which their ministers have used, in debating this part of the general treaty.

Their first reason for the refusing the Duke of Savoy the addition which he demanded to his barrier was, that this addition could not be looked upon as really and essentially necessary to his security.

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ANNE.  
1712-13.

Soon after, they offered as an expedient for compromising the difficulty, that the King should keep the villages demanded by the Duke, but oblige himself not to canton, at any time, troops in them. I appeal to your Grace, whether those who proposed this expedient, did not thereby very fully give up the arguments they had before insisted upon.

Another objection made on the part of France to this demand was, that the villages in question, were part of the antient domaine of the crown, which it seems his Majesty, upon no account whatsoever, can resolve to yield; and yet this point of honour is to be got over, and his domaine is to be parted with, provided the valley of Barcelonnette be given in exchange.

By what I have said, your Grace perceives, that the Queen continues still of the same opinion with respect to this article of the Duke of Savoy's demands, although she cannot speak so positively of it as she would do, because the false proposition made by the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, has hindered her from knowing the sense of the Savoy ministers upon the true one.

But I must open another matter to your Grace, which renders her Majesty less zealous in this cause than otherwise she would be, or at least makes her think it proper to give some appearance of coolness. When Mons. De Mellaredé was in England, he asked her Majesty's leave to form a body of Irish troops, which the Duke of Savoy proposed to take into his pay, for the garrisoning of Sicily. The Queen did not think fit to agree to this proposal; but in lieu thereof, Mons. De Mellaredé was told, that her Majesty would furnish his master with five old regiments of foot to be kept in Sicily. That in consideration of this, he should be obliged, in case Minorca was attacked, to send land succours from Sicily thither; as her Majesty would be obliged, in case Sicily was attacked, to send a squadron of her ships from Minorca thither. It is true indeed, that Mons. De Mellaredé desired a project of a convention for the entertainment of these troops;

ANNE.  
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troops; which was not at that time given him, and which has been very lately sent over. But the overture having been made to him, her Majesty is a good deal shocked to find that his Royal Highness has not thought it worth his while to take the least notice of it.

I have now gone through all which I had in command from her Majesty to your Grace, as to the manner of winding up the negotiation. I shall conclude this subject by saying that to you, which I am sure you will say to the ministers of France, that the King has now the whole before him; that the fear of posterior demands (the old excuse for unsatisfactory answers), can no longer be given, and that we had better run the risk of those confusions, which must follow the breaking the negotiation, or even the protracting it, than submit to receive the law in so arbitrary a manner as we must do, if France refuses to subscribe to the plan now chalked out by the Queen.

When I consider the clearness with which your Grace will express these orders, the arguments with which you will back them, and that spirit with which, I am sure, you will support the whole, I confess I cannot have very much concern about the event.

I shall not fail to dispatch the powers and instructions above-mentioned, to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

I am, &c.

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## No. IX.

GEORGE I.

1714.

*Lord Stair's Embassy in France, 1714, &c.*

From the originals, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[The object of this noble Lord's embassy was of the greatest importance, and his manner of executing it the most brilliant and spirited. The former was to discover and watch over the intrigues of the Jacobites, when this royal family could not be said to have a firm establishment on the throne; and to cement a friendship with the regent Duke of Orleans, whose steadiness could not always be depended upon, though his political interests and those of King George the First were the same. No ambassador ever exceeded, and few have equalled, the splendid and magnificent table, equipage, and train of domestics, by which Lord Stair's embassy was distinguished.]

The following transcripts and extracts are from the originals in his own hand. They will shew the manner in which, on his first arrival at Paris, he formed his connections with the Duke d'Orleans and his favourite du Bois; as well as his private sentiments to his friend Secretary Craggs, on several material points of his negotiations. The first openings of Lord Bolingbroke's return to his duty, and his being, in consequence, restored to his estate and country, are likewise brought to light in these papers; and the transaction does honour to both those noble Lords. The private treaty with Lord Mar, and the anecdotes about the famous Mr. Law, likewise deserve attention.

It may not be improper to observe, that as King George the First was not a master of English, a great deal of the foreign correspondence in the Secretary's office was carried on in French; and this accounts for the use which Lord Stair made of that language in his dispatches and private minutes.]

GEORGE I.

1714.

*Draught of a Memorial to the Duke of Marlborough,  
Captain General of the Army\*.*

**Y**OUR Grace is better able than any man to give testimony for the army as to their behaviour in the late war. They had been instruments of preserving the liberties of Europe, and humbling the exorbitant power of France. The war was upon the point of being brought to a happy conclusion, and the army looked for the reward of their good services, when we had a new ministry and new maxims. The services done in the war went for nothing. The only merit now was to preach up a separate peace with France, and the abandoning all our allies.

The army obeyed the Queen with great submission, but could not be brought to commend the measures of the ministry, which they too plainly saw tended to unravel all the success of the war, and to bring destruction upon their own country and upon all Europe.

It will be expected from your Grace, that you represent to his Majesty the hardships that a very great number of the best officers of the army that have served with the most distinction, lie under, for their firm adherence to the protestant succession and to the interest of their country. It is very well known that it was the honesty and the resolution of the army, that supported the spirit of those who were friends to the protestant succession. The army was never to be shaken in that point, notwithstanding all the arts and endeavours that were used to bring them over to a contrary interest.

This is a truth so very well known, that it does not need to be proved; but we shall take the liberty to lay some facts before your Grace to set it in a clear light.

\* From the contents it appears that this was writ towards the close of 1714, after Lord Stair's arrival in France.

As soon as the late ministry had got the Queen's authority into their hands, the first step they took to astonish the army, was to break three general officers who had served very well in the war, under pretence of their being disaffected to them, without any proof or accusation, or council of war.

GEORGE I.  
1714.

Your Grace being soon afterwards removed from the command of the army, and the Duke of Ormond put at the head of it, and the officers continuing firm in the interest of their country and the protestant succession; new examples were thought necessary to intimidate the army. Sir Richard Temple, who had served with great distinction in all the war, and who had nothing to be laid to his charge but his not concurring, in the House of Commons, with the then fashionable measures of making a separate peace with France, and deserting the common cause of the allies, was discharged from the Queen's service, and had his regiment taken from him, without any other cause alledged, than that her Majesty had no further occasion for his service.

Lieutenant Colonel Coote had his company of the guards taken from him for no other reason, that appeared, but his being present at the burning of the Pretender and drinking his present Majesty's health, &c. All arts were again used to gain over the officers of the army. Those who were suspected of Jacobitism were courted and advanced; those who were known to be firm to the protestant succession, were neglected, vexed and ill used, that they might be provoked to leave the service; and those who were brought into the army, were, for the most part, such as professed themselves zealous promoters of the new measures. Lieutenant General Cadogan was forced to sell his regiment.

When any officer asked preferment, he was asked if he would serve the Queen in her own way; if he would come into the Queen's measures; and obey her Majesty in every thing without asking questions.

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The General of the army closetted great numbers of officers of every regiment, asking them these questions, down to the rank of Captain.

There was an inquisition set on foot in every regiment, and spies put in pay in all public places, to whisper officers out of their employments. The last year of the Queen's reign, after the chusing of a new Parliament, the Pretender's title was publicly asserted, many books printed in defence of it, and very openly owned in conversation. The protestant succession was, in all the pamphlets and daily papers, writ by authority, vilified and contemned.

The Queen having been ill about Christmas last, and it being apprehended her Majesty might die soon; the resolution of purging the army was openly declared. The Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair, and Major General Davenport, were ordered to leave the army. They had successors named to them, and prices appointed. Several Captains of the foot guards were ordered to sell, and two gentlemen who had been papists till very lately, were brought into to be Captains in the guards.

Black lists were made of every regiment, according to which the army was to be purged, as they called it; by which officers were proscribed, generally speaking, as they had most merit in the service, and as they were known to be best affected to the protestant succession. These lists were credibly reported to exceed the officers in other regiments, besides a great number in the guards, and a hundred and fifty half pay officers. The alarm the Parliament took at the garbling the army, put a stop to it for some time; but the Parliament being up, it was just going to break out again with greater violence. Several officers were under actual condemnation, when it pleased God the Queen died.

Now it being plain that the officers in the army did actually sacrifice all they had, rather than concur in any thing contrary to the interest of the protestant succession; it is hoped that your Grace will

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GEORGE I.  
1714.

represent their case, as it truly is, to his Majesty. And they are firmly persuaded that his Majesty, having their case fairly laid before him, and being apprised how they renounced the fruit of all their services, and chose rather to want bread, than to contribute to the overturning the protestant succession and to the ruin of their country; they are persuaded, I say, his Majesty is too good to leave them, who suffer only for his sake, to stand, whilst those who have, in every thing, done what lay in their power to oppose his Majesty's interest and to defeat his succession, are intrusted with the principal military employments; by which means the safety of his majesty's person, and the defence of the kingdom, are intrusted into their hands, who have been the principal and most forward instruments of raising up the power of France, of debasing the honour and interest of their own country, and finally of doing what in them lies to set aside the protestant succession.

Your Grace knows very well that my attachment to his Majesty's interest, is the reason why I not only had no recompence for my own and father's services, which, your Grace knows, at some time had been very agreeable to the late Queen, but why I was at last turned out of the army.

As my only ambition is to deserve well of my country, in serving the King faithfully, especially in the army, I should with great pleasure embrace every opportunity of putting myself in that way of being useful to his Majesty; and as I am very little fond of making a great estate, I should not balance one moment to lay down the sum your Grace mentions, that I might again have the honour to command a regiment to serve the king, if my circumstances were not so narrow that, I am afraid, my friends would have reason to complain of me, if I ventured to bring any more debt upon my family, considering the ill state of my health.

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1714.

If your Grace can forgive my troubling you with a detail of my affairs, I will lay them before you in as few words as I can, and leave the determination of what is fit for me to do, in this matter, entirely to your Grace.

When I have sold five hundred pounds per annum of my estate, I have remaining about five thousand pounds of debt, which I was hopeful to have been able to have paid off, in three or four years time, if I had merit enough to deserve bread from the King.

His majesty employs me in a station of great honour and trust, but where the appointments are very far from being sufficient to defray the expence I must necessarily be at. I will give you my word, as things are here now, my ordinary allowance will not pay my house rent, my servants, and my stables; so that, with all the œconomy of the world, I must lay out of my money above three thousand pounds a year. If I give three thousand pounds for the regiment, I shall find myself in six thousand pounds of more debt at the end of the year, and the income of the regiment will hardly pay the interest of that money. So your Grace may judge of the situation I shall be in, unless his Majesty thinks fit to assist me.

Your Grace may remember that I represented, before I came out, the inability I was in to undertake this service; and that it was proposed, to help me, that I should be Lieutenant General on the establishment, and that I should have a regiment when there happened a vacancy.

Tis true, my Lord, I have an assignment of off-reckonings, which, when paid, will amount to two thousand four hundred pounds, which I left in Mr. Sloper's hands as a fund to support the expence I should be obliged to make here. If his Majesty will be pleased to give orders for defraying the necessary expence I must make in his service, above my regular allowance, I am very well pleased this  
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money be raised towards paying for the regiment; or, if his Majesty will be graciously pleased to advance the three thousand pounds, I shall be very well pleased to lay out the money that is in Mr. Sloper's hands, together with the pay of the regiment, for defraying my expence. But if I must lay out that money to buy the regiment, and run six thousand pounds in debt, to support the expence I must of necessity make here, I must be undone.

GEORGE I.

1714.

If his Majesty thinks fit to advance the three thousand pounds for the regiment, I am very willing that my pay as Lieutenant General for this year be returned, to reimburse his Majesty a part of that sum; and in case his Majesty shall think I can subsist longer without that pay, I shall be willing it be applied to the payment of the money advanced till the whole be repayed.

I beg pardon for entering into all this tedious disagreeable detail. I submit the whole matter to your Grace, to represent the matter to his Majesty, in whole or in part, as you shall think most proper, to know his Majesty's pleasure upon it. As to myself, I put myself entirely into your Grace's hands, to determine absolutely as you think best. I shall be satisfied with whatever you do.

GEORGE I.

1715.

*Extracts from Lord Stair's Journal at Paris in 1715,  
and 1716\*.*

WEDNESDAY, January the 23d, at night, arrived at Paris;  
saw nobody that night but Mr. Law.

Friday 25th. Waited on Mr. de Torcy with Mr. Prior; he received me very civilly, but I thought coldly. Tuesday was appointed for my seeing the King. Dined with Monsieur de Torcy; after dinner walked a little in the gardens of Versailles. We talked of the peace†; Prior could say little in the defence of it; said plainly that he thought fifteen *per Cent.* had still been granted us on the Spanish trade. Told me the story of Lord Peterborough; how, in place of hearing the Queen's death from the courier near Cahais, he knew it at Paris, and afterwards went and had audience of the French King, and immediately took post for England. Mr. Prior seemed altogether unknowing as to the affair of Mardyke; never to have had any instructions about the canal whilst it was making; and to have concerned himself no farther about it since the giving the memorials he had been appointed to give, without having heard one word of it since his giving in the last.

February 1st. Received a messenger with orders from the King for Mr. Prior to deliver his papers, and me to receive them, to be transmitted into England. I went to Prior, who shewed me the journal taken of his letters; they were booked; he put the books into my hands; had a good deal of pain to let them go; however, I carried them off. He came to me in the afternoon, and shewed me with how much freedom he had writ, and how unfit it was that such

\* The Earl of Stair went first in an inferior character, but was appointed Ambassador to the French Court, soon after the death of Louis XIV.

† Of Utrecht.

things

things should be seen; and that there were many letters relating to his own private business. Proposed I should copy what I thought fit here; and that it should be done at the sight of the Secretary of State in England; he keeping the books. I promised to write.

GEORGE I.  
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*July.* In the beginning of this month, we had all the stories of the King's displeasure against Lord Stair, and how ill they made their Court that saw him. That having made a good deal of noise, to give a turn to it, or, may be, to hinder Lord Stair to make any reflection as to the cause, Mr. de Villeroy contrived a party when they were to dine together, which they did.

*Tuesday 9th.* At the Muette, at Monsieur d'Armenonville's\*, where there was the Marechal Tallard and Monsieur d'Alegre. After dinner, Lord Stair had a conference with the Marechal. When he complained of the usage he met with, the Marechal denied the fact, that the King had spoken in the manner it was said about Paris; assured him he should see that every body would be extremely civil to him, and that the Court was resolved to keep great measures with the Court of Britain; that I might depend upon it, that they would not assist the Pretender directly or indirectly; that there was no such thing as any intention to camp any troops at Dunkirk, or to work there. He spoke with so much the air of sincerity that I believed him. He begged I would see Monsieur de Torcy on Thursday; and assured me, that I would find him disposed to soften things so, that we should have reason to be better satisfied with him.

*Tuesday 11th.* I went to Monsieur Torcy's, at the Marechal's desire, resolved to put what I had to say, as to Majorca, in writing, by way of memorial, that I might have no occasion to quarrel with Torcy. It did not avail. I had the most unaccountable dispute with him, when he used me like a dog, without any provocation.

\* Keeper of the Seals.

GEORGE I. [Here follows the account of that remarkable conversation in Lord Stair's own hand. He never saw that Minister afterwards.]  
1715.

*Relation d'une conversation qu'avoit Monsieur le Comte de Stair, avec Monsieur de Torcy. A Paris le 11th de Juillet 1715.*

My Lord Stair etant allé chez Monsieur le Marquis de Torcy luy dit, que son dessein estoit de luy porter un memoire, mais, comme il n'estoit pas copié au net, il auroit l'honneur de l'envoyer l'apres diné.

Monsieur de Torcy ayant demandé de quoy le Memoire traitoit, my Lord Stair repondit, qu'il estoit touchant l'affaire de Majorque \*, & luy dit, en peu de mots, le contenu. La dessus Monsieur le Marquis de Torcy prit occasion de passer par tous les pas qu'avoient été faits dans cette negociation. A la fin my Lord Stair dit, qu'étant convenu d'une suspension d'armes, on croioit en Angleterre, que la bonne foy demandoit, qu'avant que de recommencer les hostilités, on eût averti que le Traité estoit rompu; et demanda à Monsieur le Marquis de la Torcy, s'il ne croioit pas de meme? Monsieur de Torcy ayant repondu que non, my Lord Stair repliqua, Cela étant, Monsieur, il faut bien que l'idée que vous avez de la bonne foy, soit tout differente de celle que nous avons. Voila les paroles précises, que my Lord Stair a dit.

La dessus, Monsieur Torcy se mit dans une colere extraordinaire, et repetant plusieurs fois les paroles de *bonne foy*, et, ecumant à la bouche, dit, Ce n'est pas icy qu'il faut parler de la bonne foy. Notre bonne foy est reconnue par tout; c'est bien à vous de parler de bonne foy, qui venez icy nous tromper, par des negociations feintes; je vous apprendrai, que ce n'est pas icy qu'il faut venir m'insulter; et, ouvrant la porte, dit, Sortez Monsieur.

My Lord Stair dit, s'approchant de la porte, Monsieur, vous oubliez ce que vous etes, et ce que je suis. Par plusieurs raisons, je ne m'at-

\* The Emperor and Spain continued the war, after the treaty of Utrecht; and Majorca was then in possession of the Imperialists.

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tendois pas à un pareil traitement ; mais je m'apperçois bien, que ce  
que j'ay oui dire est vrai, que vous estes d'opinion, qu'il ne faut pas  
garder de mesures avec L'Emperor, ni avec le roy mon maitre, qui  
pourtant sont des Princes assez considerables en Europe.

GEORGE I.  
1715.

Monsieur, dit Monsieur de Torcy à my Lord Stair, déjà forti de  
la porte, je vous apprendray qu'on ne m'insulte pas, et qu'on ne  
me parle pas de bonne foy. Monsieur, luy dit my Lord Stair, je vois  
que vous etez en colere, mais je ne scais pas vous avoir donné lieu  
de vous facher. Je me suis plaint, que l'Espagne recommençoit les  
hostilités, pendant le cours d'un traité, ou on étoit convenu d'une ces-  
sation d'armes. J'ai dit que cela ne convenoit pas à l'idée que  
j'avois de la bonne foy. Je n'ai pas parlé de vous, ni sçu que vous  
etiez auteur de ce conseil ; je crolois que la France n'y avoit nulle part.

Alors Monsieur de Torcy parut se radoucir un peu. My Lord  
Stair rentra dans le cabinet, et repeta les paroles qui avoient causé  
la colere de Monsieur de Torcy. Il convint, qu'il les repeta justes,  
& tomba d'accord, qu'il n'avoit pas lieu de s'en offenser. My Lord  
Stair dit, qu'il avoit trop de respect pour le roy son maitre, pour dire  
des paroles injurieuses ou impolies à son Ministre.

Lord Stair se plaignit, en suite, du traitement que Monsieur de  
Torcy luy avoit fait, et luy dit, qu'il voioit, par la disposition que  
lui Monsieur de Torcy avoit, de s'emporter contre luy, que ceux  
qui avoient averti my Lord Stair, que lui Marquis de Torcy avoit  
aigri l'esprit du Roy contre luy, avoient dit la verité ; qu'il se dou-  
toit bien, par plusieurs choses, que luy, Marquis de Torcy, étoit  
d'opinion, qu'il ne falloit pas garder des mesures avec l'Empereur,  
ni avec le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, qui avoient, pourtant, fait  
voir, qu'ils étoient, l'un et l'autre, des Princes fort considerables en  
Europe ; et que le temps pourroit venir, que le Roy reconnoitroit,  
que ceux qui luy donnoient de tels conseils, se laissoient conduire par  
leurs passions, plus que par l'interest de leur maitre ; et que le Mar-  
quis de Torcy pourroit fort bien se repentir de brouiller le Roy son

GEORGE I. <sup>1715.</sup> maitre, avec ses voisins les plus considerables, qui ne demandoient pas mieux que de vivre en paix, et en amitié avec luy." \*

*Friday 12th.* I gave an account of what had happened, in a relation inclosed in a letter to the Marechal de Villeroy.

I wrote this night a long letter to Mr. Secretary, by Mr. Rawworth, who went into England by Diepe. I gave him an account of what had passed between Monsieur Torcy and me, and of the state of affairs here; and that I thought they now cooled in the design they had to assist the Pretender.

*Sunday 14th.* Gordon, the messenger, being arrived from London, with Mr. Stanhope's letter of the 27th of June, O. S. with assurance that the secret had been inviolably kept there; I shewed the letter to —† in whom I have of late observed a good deal of coldness. I gave him at the same time, an account of what had happened between Monsieur de Torcy and Lord Stair; at which he seemed surprized and vexed.

*Wednesday 17th.* I had an account by — that the Court put Torcy intirely in the right, and that their resentment was carried higher and higher against me; so far that the Marechal advised Monsieur Torcy to be cautious how he saw me, nor often. That made me begin to take a little more notice of the report I found still continuing, of the Pretender's going into Britain.

*Monday 22d.* I hear more and more of the Pretender's design. I was resolving to send into Lorrain when I received Mr. Secretary's letter of the 20th by Turner the messenger, by which it appears they are much alarmed in England with the Pretender's intention to land immediately. He recommends to me, to save no pains nor expence to be well informed.

*Wednesday 24th.* I sent Barton into Lorrain, to be informed of the

\* The Editor has not translated the papers writ in French; taking it for granted, that this work will meet with few readers, to whom that language is not familiar.

† There are several blanks and initials in the journal, which, as it was kept by Lord Stair, only for his own use, cannot be deciphered by any one else.

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Pretender's motions. I met the Abbé du Bois in a wood, and gave him an account of the intelligence I had concerning the design, which he seemed positively not to believe. I told him, that we expected from his master \*, only justice in the affair of Mardyke; and that, for the rest, we were ready to concert measures with him for securing him the regency, and, in case of other accidents, the crown. I desired he would be particularly careful in informing himself concerning the Pretender's designs, and how far the Court meddled with him. I did not think, in all this matter, the Abbé acted with all that frankness I might have expected from him. I set a man to observe Lord Bolingbroke.

GEORGE I.  
1715.

That night I dispatched Barton with a letter in cypher, of which I kept a copy. I had sent for Mr. H. † yesterday, who came to me this afternoon, after he had been with Monsieur Torcy in the morning, which he denied. He made me give him a letter to shew; which I did, though doubtful of his sincerity. He desires to have a regiment in the service of Hanover, promised to do his part to discover what was doing for the pretender.

*Friday 26th.* In the morning I saw the Marechal de Villeroy with whom I had a long conference concerning Torcy's quarrel. I put him upon the story of the Pretender; he assured me the Court would not assist him; particularly that they were not to work at Mardyke; that Le Blanc had got no money for that purpose; that there would be no body of troops camped there; was extremely civil and obliging; said nothing towards accommodating the affair with Torcy. I told him I had forborn till Sunday last to give an account of it. Dispatched Wilcox, who arrived from Spain on Thursday. I saw the Abbé to-day, who gave me an account that the Duke of Orleans had received mighty kindly what I had said from the King; that he

\* Duke of Orleans.

† Who is this Mr. H. ? Can it possibly be Hooke?—A subsequent article in this journal, at Tuesday, August 6th, has Mr.

Hooke's name at full length, and fully proves that he had a connection with Lord Stair.

would

GEORGE I.  
1715.

would take the first opportunity to see me, to tell me himself that he perfectly agreed to what was desired. The Abbé told me, the Duke knew nothing of the Pretender's design, and did not believe it. I have not liked the Abbé's way a good while.

*Saturday 27th.* I talked to D—— of his going into Lorrain, and put him upon speaking to the Duke of Orleans, of the Pretender's design, as of himself, and to talk of his going into Lorrain to see what was a doing. Saladin \* told me the story of Bolingbroke's amour with Madam Tencin †, and his meeting the Pretender upon the road.

*Sunday 28th.* D—— came to town, told me the Duke of Orleans had advised, if he went to Lorrain, to say nothing to the D——, who was engaged in the Pretender's design, which would appear in less than a fortnight; that he was certainly to go, but would not succeed. Of this I gave an account this very night by Turner, but kept no copy of my letter, nor of that by Mr. Leore. I had reasons ‡ for so doing.

*Monday 29th.* This day the B—— owned to Mr. Saladin, that the Pretender was to go into Britain; they calculate having the people all over the island for them.

B—— came back from Bar. The Pretender is still there with the Queen ||; every thing quiet, and few people there. They talk of his going to Britain; when his mother comes back, he will probably set out. Mr. Burit told me his letters from Spain say, the Spanish fleet with the troops is gone to the Groyne, which gives a colour for my suspicion of the embarkation being designed against us, which indeed is improbable; but, without force, the Pretender's expedition appears quite chimerical.

\* He was a Genevois, and employed on public affairs by some of the Swiss Cantons; a great intriguer. Cardinal Tencin; she was as famous in her way, and lived to a great age.

† Madam Tencin, sister to the famous

‡ They must have been of a singular kind. || His mother.

*Tuesday*

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*Tuesday 30th.* I saw Saladin, who tells me that an Abbé, who GEORGE I.  
1715. has been several times in England for their affairs, says the Queen-mother is against the Pretender's going without troops. He himself is very cool, and the party very pressing. Lord Bolingbroke saw him twice.

Ambassador of Sicily was here at night. In the Tuileries met with Sobere the Genoese; he apprehends the Spanish fleet have a design upon Final, to be given to the Duke of Savoy, to help forward his accommodation with the Emperor and that of the King of Spain, which France desires.

*Wednesday 31st.* I saw Bernard \*, who told me this Court certainly gave not, and were not in a condition to give, a penny to the Pretender; that, if they did, it must pass through his hands. He told me, the Council would refuse Law's project, there being no foundation for the bank he proposes, in a country where every thing depends on the King's pleasure.

I met Remond, who told me, that Torcy "fremit à mon nom, et qu'il ne me pardonne pas d'avoir été si calme, quand il s'emportoit tant." I supped at Bernard's.

*August 1st, Thursday.* The diminution of the specie does not take place, by an edict come out to-day. There seems to be a stop in the Pretender's going, by the discourse of his friends. I sent the Doctor's man to observe the Duke of Berwick, who went out of town yesterday. At the Tuileries the news was, that the Pretender was gone or just going; that there were risings in England, and a formed rebellion in the Highlands of Scotland; and that Lord Oxford was in the Tower. Lord Bolingbroke had received great packets by a courier come from England.

Though news came from England, I received no letters from the office. Cathcart tells me Barton was arrived from me. Lord Ox-

\* Probably the famous banker at Paris.

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ford is in the Tower; great disorders in Staffordshire; the Commons passed the bill against riots; address the King in a very warm manner, taking hold of Lord Anglesea's words. Mons. d'Aberville's complaints against me; but the King and the Court satisfied with my behaviour.

The Abbé Dubois came to me this morning *incognito*; he seemed to know nothing of the Pretender's design, and would justify the intentions of this Court. I asked him coldly, if he had seen the Duke of Orleans; and told him, I would not ask him to tell me any thing he thought proper to keep secret. He was to go to Marli, and give me an account of what he had learned at his return.

I had news from Clermont, that the Duke of Berwick's people are persuaded that the Pretender is to go into England immediately, and the Duke is to be of the party; his clothes and things are packed for a journey. He receives expresses every day from Marli and from Bar. Some days ago there was a person there whom the servants note to be one of the late Queen's chief ministers.

*Saturday 3d.* Another account from Clermont; these people still expect to go. Gordon has in a manner promised to get me the Pretender's declaration. Lord B——\* and Lord H——n ridicule the report of his going, as contrived by the ministers; they send Savage here for intelligence.

—— dined with me; he says Lord Bolingbroke brags he will make the government repent their letting him come into France, for that he will do them more mischief than they are aware of; that the party increases every day, and will soon get the better of the Whigs; makes terrible reflections upon the Pr——†, and speaks with contempt of the King. He declares he has nothing to manage, and that he will keep no measures. He complains much of me, and triumphs in the ill treatment I meet with here.

\* Probably Lord Bolingbroke.

† So in the manuscript.

I find

I find he has spies that come to pick up every word I say in my house. GEORGE I.  
1715.

*Sunday 4th.* This morning at four, Gordon the messenger arrived with Mr. Secretary's letter of the 20th Old Style, with an account that the King had that day been to the House of Lords to pass the riot bill; that, upon that occasion, he had given an account to the Parliament of the Pretender's design to invade the kingdom; and therefore desires their assistance to put the kingdom in a posture of defence against the rebellion. Tumults raised within, and the invasion threatened abroad. This produced the same day addresses from both houses in most warm and hearty terms, promising to stand by his Majesty with their lives and fortunes; and the Commons desiring his Majesty to augment his land-forces, and the number of ships at sea for the defence of the kingdom. They had, that morning, received my letter by Turner, writ on the 28th, giving an account that the Pretender's project was formed, and that it was to appear in a fortnight from D.'s conversation with the Duke of Orleans.

*Monday 5th.* This morning there was a letter from D—— to his wife; that he has passed at Bar, where there seemed to be no immediate design of stirring, but expectation of news from Britain. He left it on Friday to repair that way in four or five days.

*Tuesday 6th.* I have no news of the Abbé, which makes me think the Duke of Orleans is willing to let the affair of the Pretender take its train without meddling with it; and indeed the Abbé's proceeding of late has been what I have not liked.

To night we had the news that the Pretender had actually gone from Bar on Saturday last. The whole town seemed to believe it; it came from a secretary of the Duke de Bourbon's. All the Jacobites seem to believe it, and there is a great motion amongst them.

Villars, whom I met in the Thuilleries, assured me, that the Pretender would not embark, if he went, at any of the ports in France.

**GEORGE I.** Hooke is gone back to Versailles without seeing me, after having been again with Torcy on Thursday last.

*Wednesday 7th.* The news of the Pretender's being gone continued in the morning. The Jacobites seem persuaded of it. Ogilvy promised Mr. Crawford the declaration; at night he refused to give it; and they seem down and discontented.

This morning at four o'clock, I had a messenger with a letter from Mr. Stanhope of the 24th. They are uneasy to have had no letter from me since mine of the 28th, by Turner; gives me an account of the raising of thirteen regiments of dragoons and eight of foot, and of Duke Ormond's going off. Impatient to know what is become of him.

*Thursday 8th.* This morning I had the news that the Duke of Ormond came to town last night. Lord Bolingbroke has yielded Laffy's house to him. I went to see Heraclius\*; a play they had put upon the stage, upon the occasion of the Pretender's going. They made some railleries upon the play and allusions. I told them coldly, I supposed it had not been contrived to entertain the Duke of Ormond. Villars and his Lady were there. Duke of Ormond dined to-day with Torcy.

*Friday 9th.* His Grace of Ormond dined with the Duke d'Aumont, who carried him to the Opera. Lord Bolingbroke and he supped with Lord Galmoy. His Grace has declared he intends to take no notice of me.

*Saturday 10th.* I wrote by the post to give Mr. Secretary an account of the Duke of Ormond's arrival and his behaviour here, and that the spirits of the Jacobites seemed to be quite down.

*Sunday 11th.* I went to the Tuileries, met Mr. Villeroy, who seemed mortified. Met the Duke of Bourbon, who told me the Duke of Orleans told him he was to talk to me on Tuesday. He

\* A famous play of Corneille, where a real prince and an usurper are brought on the stage.

goes into the country for ten days. He told me the King fails a-pace; his stomach is quite gone.

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1715.

They seem now fond of having something settled with the Duke of Orleans, now they see we have got the better of the opposition in England.

The Marechal de Villeroy, by Saladin, advised me yesterday to see the King, with the assurance that I should be well received.

At night D——\* arrived. He left Bar on Friday in the evening. He tells me they seemed apprehensive he had some design upon the Chevalier's person; that they had appeared diffident of him; but that they shewed him the news from England, the votes of the 26th, owning that their hopes were at an end. There was but five or six people with him. He asked for the young people; was answered, they were all gone to their regiments. Howard told him they believed Lord Bolingbroke had not seen the Chevalier; but that he was in correspondence with Higgins.

Higgins seemed much to listen to D.'s discourse, of giving the Chevalier a pension to live at Rome, and wanted to know if he spoke by consultation.

*Monday 12th.* Ogilvy again promised Mr. Crawford the declaration. They do not deny the design of the invasion, but seem to have lost all their hopes. Went to Versailles at night with *Huske*†; saw the King sup. He looked mighty ill, came late into the room with great pain, supported upon a stick.

Saw the Marechal de Villeroy at supper. He was mighty civil to me, and took notice of my good humour; that evening Baron Kniphausen told me, there had been one of Torcy's people with him, very inquisitive if I was not to ask an audience of the King. Torcy seems to apprehend it much. I did not answer his question.

\* One of Lord Stair's spies, mentioned Lord Cadogan's Aid-de-camp in Flanders above.

† Afterwards General Huske. He was 1744.



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*Tuesday 13th.* I came too late for the King's levee, having staid making notes of what I intended to say to the King. He was carried to church, and looked very ill.

I asked to speak to the King by the Baron de Bretueil \*. I was told it could only be by Torcy. The Marechal told me so afterwards; but that there was need of doing no more than asking the audience by Torcy, without telling him what I was to say. I told the Marechal, that in the way Torcy had used me, I desired to have no communication with him, till he had thought fit to shew that he was sorry for what he had said to me; but if I must needs undertake that mortification, when the King my master's service required I should speak to the King, I would pass over my resentments; but that, at the same time, I must look upon it as a hardship put upon me. The Marechal advised me to see Torcy, and assured me that I should be well received. I saw the King dine, who looked exceedingly ill; spoke with a broken voice; and could not eat. He seemed uneasy to see me at the table. The courtiers looked hideously upon me. I went to dine with the Marechal De Villeroy, who asked me, after dinner, if I had not seen Torcy. I told him my business with the King was not so very pressing, but that I could delay it; and till I had something very pressing I would not go to Torcy, till he had done me some civility, upon what had passed between him and me. I told him I had shown, may be, too much facility in having this matter accommodated; but that if it went further, I should be obliged to put it upon another foot; and then, may be, it would not be so easy to be taken away. The Marechal used many arguments to induce me to go to Torcy, but I was firm.

I told the Marechal, that as long as they kept the Pretender in Lorrain, indeed in France, for Bar is a sief of France, as long as

\* Introducer of ambassadors.

there

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there was that intimacy between the declared enemies of our King and his government, as there was between the most Christian King's ministers and those gentlemen lately come from England, it was to no purpose to think of cultivating a correspondence betwixt the two nations.

Marquis d'Alegre followed me from the Marechal's. I told him what had passed, and my resolution; he expressed great inclination to have the thing done away, and went back to the Marechal to concert some expedient.

I went from thence to the Duke of Orleans, with whom I had a long conference. He told me the state of the King's health, and his hopes; the trick Torcy had played him with the King, and his conference with the King and with Torcy upon the subject.

He owned he knew of the Pretender's design, and that the King had been much pressed to assist him, but had refused; that, however, the Pretender had resolved to try his fortune; and his design had been just upon the point of being put in execution; but that his hopes were now fallen, and the design quite given over.

I took notice that he, nor none for him, had ever given us the least notice of that design; and complained of the coldness I had found in the Abbé, which, I reckoned, proceeded from his thinking that it was not fit for the Duke of Orleans to meddle in the matter. He said, since he saw the Pretender was to do that matter by himself, it was not worth his while to take notice of the design, since he was well assured it would come to nothing; that if he had seen France ready to assist him, he would certainly have given me notice. The excuse is a bad one, but I received it.

Then I told him how firmly the King was resolved to support his interest, desiring only justice in the affair of the canal. He made me repeat what we desired, which was the demolishing the sluices, and a positive engagement there never should be any port there, or within those banks which made the road; which he, upon

his

there

GEORGE I. his honour, engaged to oblige himself to in form, as soon as he  
 1717. should be in a condition to perform what we asked. I came to  
 Paris that night.

*Wednesday 14th.* By all was said to me yesterday by the Marechal, and by the Duke of Orleans, I was much confirmed in my apprehensions concerning their ways of being informed of what I did. — Wrote this afternoon to England, a long private letter, with the detail of every thing here, of which I kept no copy.

*Friday 16th.* The King's illness still continues, though every morning they tell us he is better. He is carried in the afternoon to Madame Maintenon's, where there is musick; but he has great pains in his thigh and legs; drinks much in the night, and does not sleep. They have sent for the waters of Bourbon.

*Monday 19th.* I went to Versailles, where I saw the King sup. He looked better than I could have expected. I was told the freshness of his colour came from his inward heat. He eat little; and was wheeled out in his chair. It is declared that the King does not go to Fontainebleau.

*Tuesday 20th.* The King passed the night very ill; lay a-bed all day; they are resolved to give him the Jesuits bark.

The review, which the King was to have made of the gendarmerie from his balcony, put off to Marli, where the Duke de\* Maine is to review them to-morrow. That surprises a good many people. The report is whispered about strongly, as if Madame Maintenon was labouring hard, to be declared Queen, and regent; Duke of Orleans friends alarmed.

*Thursday 22d.* Duke of Orleans went to the review at Marli, where the D† was. He saluted the D. at the head of his two companies. Duke of Maine and the ‡ Ch—— only passed them in squadron, and went away seeming much disconcerted. There

\* The King's favourite son, by Madame Montespan.

† I think this means the Dauphin.  
 ‡ So in MS.

was a great consultation of physicians, when it was resolved to try to stop the fever by the bark; to give the King asses milk, and whey; to drink no wine, no meat, nor sweetmeats.

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*Friday 23d.* The Abbé then sent to meet me in the Tuileries. He seems not alarmed at any designs upon the Duke of Orleans; thinks his party so strong, that nothing can be attempted to his prejudice. I warned him of what was talked. He took notice of what I had said to the Duke of Orleans, of his coldness. I owned it, and told him that the Duke had owned to me, he knew of the Chevalier's design, and that I thought it strange he had said nothing to me on that subject, though I had earnestly desired it. I told him that was only a little observation of mine, which made no alteration in the King's good intentions and firm resolution to support the Duke of Orleans.

*Sunday 25th.* This morning at seven, Dean that was Aid Major to Duke of Berwick's regiment, who had offered his service before, was with me. He told me the Pretender was to have parted from Bar the 25th of last month, with only about twenty people, the Duke of Berwick, his son, the two Middletons, M'Donald, Lieutenant General Dorrington, Cook, Rooth, &c. to have embarked at Vieuville in Normandy; that Camock was to have commanded the ships; that they had bought arms in Flanders, in parcels that had been carried thither; that many other officers were to have gone in parcels from other places; that when the design had been in a fair way to succeed, and the rising great, then the King of France was to have assisted him.

That the first design was to have landed in England; but that, afterwards, the Duke of Ormond had advised, it might be in Scotland; that a priest, one Colen, had come over from him with that message.

That he had heard several of the Irish general officers say, the Duke was in their interest from the time of his commanding the army

GEORGE I.

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army in Flanders; that now the people that go and come from Bar, go freight to him; that M'Donald came thence a few days ago, and came freight to the Duke, and that after his arrival, his Grace had dispatched Bagnal thither; that they do not yet seem to have laid aside their design, but only to have delayed it for two months; and that they are now very busy in concerting measures.

He promises to give me a faithful account of what is doing at the Duke of Ormond's, of who goes backwards and forwards from Bar, and what is become of the ships with arms that were in the Seine. I gave him twenty pounds, and he engages to give me good intelligence of whatever passes.

*Sunday 25th.* This evening we had an account, that the gangrene had discovered itself plainly in the King's leg, and that there was no longer any hopes left of his recovery. He has confessed, and taken the Sacrament last night; and this evening every body reckoned him in the agonies of death. I dispatched Maiden to England, with this account.

*Monday 26th.* This afternoon I went to Versailles. In the morning we had a report at Paris, that the King was dead, having received the extreme unction the night before at eleven o'clock.

We found the court all in tears; the Duke of Orleans told me, that the King had observed his treaties; that there was no thoughts of the King of Spain; that he was to have the regency; but that he believed there were some conditions in the will to hamper him by a council of regency, and a *Tutele*, that was to have the command of the troops; but he said, he was little in pain about that, being sure of the Parliament and the troops. I told him I was then to offer him, in the King's name, whatever assistance he should want, to make good his right to the regency, in exclusion of the King of Spain. He desired me to give the King his most hearty thanks, and to assure him that, as soon as ever he was in possession of the regency, he would make good what he had promised with relation

to

to Mardyke. He told me that he sounded Buys\*, upon what he would have done, as the States ambassador, if there had been any intentions in favour of the King of Spain. I told him, I knew that Buys would have waited for orders; but that I would frankly have declared, that the King would look upon the giving the regency to Philip, as a fraction of the treaty.

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Marechal Villeroy was declared governor to the Dauphin; the Duke of Maine superintendant of his education; and the Princess of Conti to have the inspection with Madame de Ventadour; the Bishop of Frejus, his preceptor; and the Pere le Tellier subpreceptor, and to be his confessor.

We walked in the garden, Baron Kniphausen † and I, when we met Marechal Villeroy, who gave us an account of all the King had said to the Dauphin; exhorting him to live in peace with his neighbours; to keep his treaties; and avoid war, in which he had delighted too much. The advice he had given to the Princes was, to live in good understanding together; to the great men, to serve the young King faithfully, for the love they bore to him, and for all the good he had done them; and many other things, which shewed his courage and resolution in meeting death, and his care for the welfare of grandchild and kingdom, and his good understanding.

That night every body expected, that the King would be dead before morning.

*Tuesday 27th.* The King was a little better in the morning, but was worse in the afternoon; the gangrene did not rise higher. They had sent for a surgeon from Amiens, that had a famous receipt for the gangrene; he sent his receipt in the evening, which they would not use, no more than they would consult the Count d'Offune's physician.

\* The Dutch Ambassador.

† Probably the Minister from Prussia.

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I had an audience of the Duke of Orleans in the afternoon, when I desired to know if there was any thing he would have me to do for his service. I gave him the strongest assurances of the King's firm friendship to him; and his readiness to use all the power of his kingdom to serve him. He made a most obliging return, and the strongest profession of firm attachment to the King and his interest. He renewed his promises as to Dunkirk. I told him that the true way to establish a perfect good correspondence between the two nations, and with the King, was to send the Pretender out of Lorrain, and his adherents, naming Ormond and Bolingbroke, out of France; which he heard very well. He talked of setting a treaty of commerce upon a reasonable fair foot for both nations.

Il me dit, que Torcy n'avoit pas encore mis le pied chez luy; mais, il m'en vangeroit bientôt. Je luy dis, que de la maniere que Monsieur de Torcy avoit agi avec luy, il ne seroit pas etonnant, qu'il ne s'en seroit pas; et que je ne croiois pas qu'il regleroit son administration par les maximes de Monsieur de Torcy, et qu' effectivement, il ne seroit pas un bon moyen d'etablir la bonne correspondance entre les deux nations, que d'employer un ministre qui avoit tant travaillé a les brouiller, et d'affister le Pretendant.

Il me dit, qu'il n'etoit pas encore instruit du contenu du testament, mais que certainement il n'y avoit pas question du roy d'Espagne.

Il me parla tres cordialement de l'amitié qu'il avoit pour le Roy; et me marqua, dans les termes du monde les plus obligeans, son estime, et son amitié pour moy.

Je restay la nuit à Versailles, dans la confiance que cela auroit fini cet nuit; mais point du tout. Le lendemain matin, il se trouvoit a-peu-pres, dans le même état.



Un homme de Merseilles porta un elixir qu'il van-  
toit comme un remede admirable. A la fin, on resolut de le donner au Roy.  
Il en prit à une heure \*. Je vis Monsieur le D. d'Orleans le matin,  
qui m'assura, que tout alloit bien, et qu'il n'y auroit aucun des-  
ordre.

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Barton me porta les lettres de Monsieur Stanhope du 12<sup>me</sup>. Notre  
cour paroît fort alarmé touchant la Regence, laquelle on est persuadé  
est destiné pour Philip. Du reste, Monsieur Stanhope marque assez  
clairement que la confiance que j'avois marqué que le dessein du Pre-  
tendant étoit frustré, ne leur plaçoit pas. Ils paroissent plus  
alarmés que jamais en Angleterre, et persuadés que le Pretendant peut  
passer au premier jour. Il m'a prié de bien veiller sur ses mouvemens.

*Wednesday, Sept. 4th.* I went to Versailles, where I saw the Duke  
of Orleans; read my letter to him of the 1st, with the assurances  
of the King's friendship.

He gave great assurances of his observing the treaty, and doing  
justice as to Mardyke, according to his promise. He answering no-  
thing positive as to the Pretender, and Duke of Ormond, or Boling-  
broke, in the manner the Abbé had spoken to me before; this makes  
me imagine, they intend still to keep that game going.

I spoke to him of the will, and shewed him how much his interest  
had been connected with the King's; that, if the Pretender had  
been upon the throne, as the late King intended, the will had prob-  
ably taken effect; and that view had made Monsieur Torcy so  
fond of having the Pretender's enterprize take effect. I touched  
the affair of Sweden to him, and desired him to have an eye to  
that matter in looking over the paper of negociations. I spoke to  
him of Dr. L——, and Gaynepain, that are in the Bastile. He de-  
sired I would keep the memorial till the Councils were settled that  
were to look after the detail of particular affairs.

\* On Wednesday the 28th. The King died two days after, on the 1st of September.

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Villars, who had been in his cabinet, came out, and told us his Highness had confirmed his being of the Council of Regency. He affected to look pleased, but was plainly otherwise.

*Tuesday, October 1st.* I met D—— at the Tuileries. He told me that one Lachlane was gone to Bar, who passed through Cambray with letters from Scotland, and that he came by the way of Holland. He told me, that last night there was arrived a man dispatched from England with letters, who came over as a servant to a French gentleman. That the party was mightily up; that they depended upon succeeding in England; and that the Regent would be favourable to them; that the Pretender had all his things given back to him, his plate and equipage, that was in the Scotch ships that were unloaded in the night; and that the powder and ammunition were secured for his use.

Lord T——'s man was with me at night; told me that the D——'s \* project was to go into England, as soon as he heard the rebellion was formed, to land in Wales or in the Severn; that Bolingbroke and he were to go by Bourdeaux, or by some place on the west coast of France, where there was no suspicion; that both he and Bolingbroke had been with the Regent and well received; that the Pretender was not to go into Scotland or England, till the Tories had declared for him; that their first rising was to be general, to seize the arms of the militia, to seize Bristol, where they expected to find arms and ammunition, &c.

That they had writ into England to know whether he was a fit man to be employed; that they expected an answer by the first post, and therefore he had taken his resolution to be gone.

*Wednesday 2d.* I wrote into England by Maiden to Mr. Stanhope, to give him an account of the state of affairs here, and of the plan of the Pretender's affairs; which was, to have a general rising, declaring

\* Probably the Duke of Ormond.

for the church against the Whigs, and a standing army, without making mention of the Pretender or any King.

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1755

*Thursday 3d.* I had audience of the Regent; gave him the Prince of Wales's letter; gave him thanks for seizing the arms and ammunition at Havre, in the King's name, and for his refusing to see Ormond and Bolingbroke, which was very agreeable to my Master, considering what their business was here. He looked very cool, and seemed to have a great mind to have a short conference. I told him, that his Royal Highness was in the right the other day, when he told me the Pretender did not intend to part; that I had since discovered their design was not to pull off the mask at first, but to act under the disguise of the church; but that it was the same thing under what disguise they went; that we were very well informed of their designs, and of the manner they intended to carry them on.

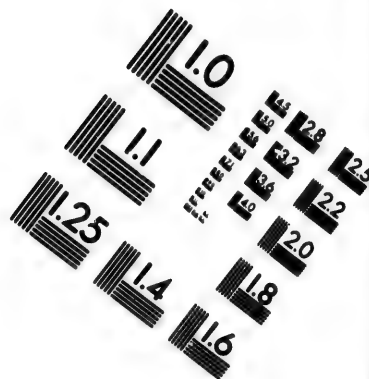
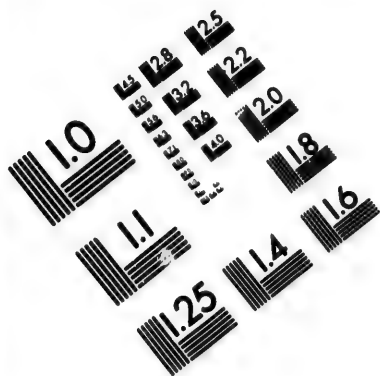
*24th.* J'ai a parler au Regent. Assurances de l'amitié du Roy; combien il est sensible au marques de l'amitié de S. A. R. données en dernier lieu, par les assurances de ne laisser sortir ni le Pretendant, ni Ormond; S. A. n'auroit pas lieu de s'en repentir, et le Roy regardera ses interets du meme que les siens propres.

Il m'a d'abord depeché le plein pouvoir par faire un Traité de Garantie mutuelle pour les deux successions, et pour assurer et maintenir la Regence à S. A. R. Comme ce traité peut etre le fondement de la tranquillité de deux royaumes et de tout l'Europe, le Roy n'a pas voulu perdre un moment de temps à le commencer; et à fin que rien ne le retarda, n'a pas voulu meler quelque chose d'etranger, pas seulement l'affaire de Mardyke, qui est si importante à la nation, et laquelle il à tant a cœur. Ce fondement d'amitié et de confiance une fois posé, il sera facile d'y batir ce qui conviendra, dans la suite, aux interets communs de deux nations, et pour le repos de l'Europe. Demandez quand le Regent voudroit commencer à traiter.

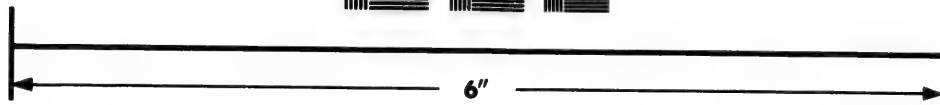
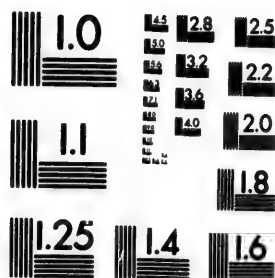
Si Le Regent cherche des delais; nous voions qu'il faut finir la rebellion en Ecosse, avant que de conclure quelque chose. S. A. R.

scit





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GEORGE I. <sup>1715.</sup> { savait ce que convient à ses interets, et à ceux de la France; nous ne le presserons pas, & prendrons notre parti, de finir nos affaires, et nous pouvons avoir patience.

*December 1st. Dimanche.* Campbell arriva le Matin, depeché de Londres le 28th N. S. avec la nouvelle, que les rebelles s'étoient rendus à discretion à Preston Lundi passé. J'ay donné la lettre de Madame la Princeesse de Galles à Madame\*. J'ay tenté trois fois en vain de voir le Regent. S. A. R. n'a fait que passer au travers des appartemens de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans, sans s'arreter.

*2d, Lundi.* Je fus encore à la cour sans voir le Regent. J'ay demandé de le voir; il étoit descendu en bas. Les Jacobites disent nos nouvelles fausses. A la cour on est tout étonné; les plus sages commencent à traiter le Chevalier de St. George du Pretendant. Il y a deux jours † qu'il étoit le Roy d'Angleterre par tout, et tout le monde avoit levé le masque. Il n'y avoit plus un seul François, quasi personne de la cour, qui mettoit le pied chez moy.

*3d, Mardi.* Je travaillois à une relation du depart du Duc d'Ormond et du Pretendant; et des choses qui arriverent dans cette cour en ce temps la. Lord P—†, vint me trouver tout botté. Il me parla, trois heurs de suite, tres extravagamment, tres malcontent de la cour; et avec beaucoup du mepris pour le conduite des rebelles.

*Friday, January 23d, 1716.* Peterborough allows, that I shall have occasion to be jealous of this Court, if they delay giving an answer to my memorial, as I expect they intend to do.

*Saturday, February 14th.* Murray came and supped with me, gave me a long account of all his proceedings, spoke mighty ill of G. H. H—y and S—th; told me, it would appear one day, he had gone upon grounds, he had reason to think good, though they had not answered; and that he did not embark like a fool. He

\* La Duchesse d'Orleans.

† Peterborough.

† A true picture of Courts.



GEORGE I.  
1716.

seems to have no agreeable prospect of the way he must be in, and yet thinks he must attach himself to the party. He was much in pain about his wife; was in pain lest he should be blamed for coming away too soon. It was the Chevalier's own opinion, supported strongly by Sheridan. He stayed with me till two; he endeavoured to discover whether there had been any intelligence between me and Harry\*. I told him plainly, that I had been very well informed of their designs, but not by him.

*Monday 16th.* No news of my memorial †. I have accounts that there are frequent meetings at Lassey's, where the Irish general officers assist. They are making states of all the boats and ships from Dieppe to Dunkirk. Hunnegur is employed in this matter. They are exceedingly busy.

*Tuesday 17th.* I had another great conference with Peterborough, who is full of the sincerity of the French, and of the great advantage of being well with them. He is upon the wing to go into England to promote this good design.

Monsieur de Barrois, the Envoy of Lorrain, brought me the Duke's answer to the King's letter, by which he tells him that he had sent the Chevalier out of his dominions; and that he was actually gone, and had taken the road of France again.

*March, Saturday 7th.* I received by Gordon the messenger, Mr. Stanhope's letter of the 22d. O. S. with orders to give in a memorial for removal of the Pretender and his adherents, declared rebels, from the dominions of France; to desire the Regent's good offices for removing the Pretender from Lorraine, and not allowing any of the Irish officers that followed the Pretender into Scotland, to return again into the service of France. I received a letter to the Duke of Lorraine from the King, desiring the removal of the Pretender and his adherents.

\* Probably, Bolingbroke is meant. the underhand supplies given to the Jacobites.

† The famous memorial, complaining of in France, printed in Lamberti. vol. x. p. 346.

Duke

GEORGE I.  
1716.

Duke of Ormond and Lord Mar, are all gone to St. Germain to take leave of the Pretender, who has been all this while at St. Germain and in the neighbourhood. This last week we have been entertained with Bolingbroke's disgrace, for having betrayed the Chevalier, and kept correspondence with me. The Seals were offered to Lord Mar, who refused them, because of his not speaking French.

*Monday 9th.* I prepared the memorial. I went to Court at night to deliver it, but I could not see him. I had made several attempts of that kind to no purpose. I understood it was a resolution taken, that I should not see him for some time, that I might have no opportunity to desire the removal of the Pretender, and that they might have time to wait the event of their project by the Swedish fleet.

*Tuesday 10th.* I went to the Regent's levée, and desired audience; which I had. I took my memorial for a text, which I read, and talked to the several articles as I went along.

1. The Regent rejoiced at the success of the King's arms, in the strongest expressions.
2. Excused the Pretender's passage, and stay in France, assured me he had immediately sent to desire him to be gone, and that he was now gone.
3. Promised the immediate removal of the chief of the rebels condemned by Parliament, desiring only that the King would declare that he would do the like with regard to such persons as might be condemned for rebellion in France.

He afterwards complained of my having writ to his disadvantage into England. I told him, I had always writ of his Highness as it became a man that professed himself his servant; that I had laid the blame of things that happened here upon his Ministers, who, I really believed to be much more to blame than his Royal Highness. I told him, that I had given a faithful account of all that his Royal Highness

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GEORGE I.  
1716.

Highness had said to me of his desire and intentions to live in friendship with the King; that, at the same time, I had been often obliged, by the duty of my station, to give an account of things, that were a doing in France, which did not agree with what his Royal Highness told me; which I thought myself obliged to do as an honest man, and a faithful servant to my Master, who intrusted me to observe what was doing for or against his interest. I parted very good friends, I thought, with the Regent. I pressed a speedy answer; that the world might have no occasion to suspect that any delay in the matter proceeded from a desire to see the issue of the project of the Swedish fleet, which I shewed his Royal Highness was a very uncertain one at best, and impossible to take effect the moment it was known in England, as it then was. He promised me a speedy answer.

*Wednesday 11th.* I waited on the Marechal d'Huxelles, and gave him the memorial. Three days last past, I have had several conferences with Peterborough, who has been employed by the French Court to discover my inclinations and instructions as to a rupture with France. By him I find they are for making a treaty to secure themselves, and for having the performance of the former treaty to enter into this as conditions. In case of such a treaty, his Lordship assures me they will do with the Pretender whatever the King can desire, and that they will be exceedingly civil to me. I told him that my instructions were to keep a good correspondence, if it was possible; that I had no orders that looked like desiring a breach; that we should be able to judge of their intentions by the answer they gave to my memorial. I saw Peterborough very full of the treaty, which he was ready to go into England to promote, and to carry the Duke d'Aumont along with him, who is come out the greatest Whig that ever was here, and who now owns that he ever was so.

GEORGE I. <sup>1716.</sup> If I am mighty complaisant, I may have the honour of making this treaty; if I happen to be rusty, it will go into other hands.

*Heads of conference with Marechal d'Huxelles \*.*

Paris, Thursday, April 16th, 1716.

ANSWER to my memorial given to the Regent the 8th, desiring his good offices, for removing the Pretender beyond the Alps †.

The King's good disposition to be in friendship, and in perfect good understanding with the Regent and with France.

If France thinks such a friendship for her interest, trifles will not stand in the way of it; such as removing the Pretender and his followers into Italy. Expedients will be easily found to bring the matter about, when both sides are in earnest to concur in finding the means, and making them practicable.

If France thinks it more for their interest to keep the Pretender, we have no more to say; they are judges, and it is needless to trouble them with fruitless solicitations.

The Vendome ‡ at Havre. She first lay, with arms going on board her, in the road; and afterwards another was loaded as the first, and in the same place. The ship gone to La Hogue to take passengers for Scotland.

\* Then Minister for foreign affairs. He had been Plenipotentiary at Utrecht.

† With the Duke of Lorrain and the Pope.

‡ An old French privateer taken up by the Jacobites for the Pretender's service.

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GEORGE I.  
1716.

*Questions \* qu'on me fait d'Angleterre sur lesquelles il faut consulter S. A. R. pour pouvoir répondre.*

1. PUISQUE S. A. R. dit, qu'elle observe, et observera religieusement le traité d'Utrecht, et qu'elle ne favorisera en rien le Pretendant; on me demande, quels pas S. A. R. a fait, pour empêcher que le Pretendant ne entrât en France, et quels ordres elle a donnée, pour l'empêcher d'y rester, ou de passer dans la Grande Bretagne?

2. J'ay mandé que S. A. R. étoit fort offensé contre ceux qui avoient fait sortir les armes du Havre, et qu'elle m'avoit assuré qu'elle feroit punir ceux qui l'avoient fait. On me demande, si le ressentiment du Regent contre ces Messieurs la avoit paru?

3. J'avois mandé que S. A. R. étoit tres offensé contre les officiers et cavaliers du regiment de Nugent, qui avoient deserté pour s'embarquer avec le Pretendant et le Duc d'Ormond. On me demande, de quelle maniere on a traité ces deserteurs depuis leur retour?

4. Je leur avois mandé que S. A. R. ne permettroit à aucun officier, ou autre, dans le service de France, de passer dans la Grande Bretagne, pour le service du Pretendant, et que particulièrement les officiers Generaux, et autres, nommés pour aller avec le Pretendant, ne sortiroient pas de France; et que si quelqu'un desertoit pour le suivre, il seroit d'abord cassé.

On me demande, si le ressentiment du Regent avoit paru contre quelqu'un de ces officiers; si ceux qui étoient à Boulogne et à Calais pour passer en Ecosse, y sont encore; et si l'on a fait quelque chose de la part du Regent pour les éloigner de la?

5. J'avois mandé qu'on ne souffriroit plus Lord Bolingbroke à Paris, et qu'on lui avoit donné ordre de s'en retirer, il y a six semaines. On me demande, s'il n'y est plus?

\* These questions have relation to the memorial above mentioned.

GEORGE I.

1717.

6. On me demande, si on a saisi les armes, et les munitions de guerre, qui étoient abord du vaisseau dans le quel le Duc d'Ormond avoit embarqué pour passer en Angleterre, qui est venu relâcher à Morlaix.

*Letters and Extraëts of Letters from Lord Stair to James Craggs, Esq.*

My dear Craggs,

Paris, January the 4th, 1717 \*.

I AM very much obliged to you, for your letter of the 17th of December, O. S. The contents of it gave me great pain. You know my thoughts of a schism in the present state of our affairs. I look upon what has happened, as the most dangerous thing could befall us, both as to the matter, and as to the manner. What the devil did Lord Sunderland and Stanhope mean, to make such a † step without concerting it? What, did they mean to make it before the King was at hand to support it? What do Lord Townshend and Walpole mean ‡? What end can they propose to themselves? The Duke of Argyle's is a mad part; but he acts consequentially, and I can conceive what he would be at. For all the rest of us, we seem to be unaccountably mad, without any system or design. God knows where, or how, it will end. I am afraid very ill. I am sure, I can make no manner of judgment nor conjecture. I know when certain people take certain steps, of what consequence it is to support them; but there must be head, and hearts, and hands. Half a dozen of good men would go far; but they must be men indeed. Have you

\* Mr. Craggs was made Secretary at War about three months after, on the resignation of Mr. Pulteney.

being Secretary of State.

† Perhaps he alludes to their going into opposition, in conjunction with the Tories.

‡ The removal of Lord Townshend, from

such

such men? 'Tis a dangerous and critical juncture. God send us a good deliverance. GEORGE I.  
1717.

If I was to judge of the courage of our new ministers by their behaviour towards me, I should take them for men of great vigour. They have cracked their whip about my ears in a most masterly manner. I have received a letter from Robethon\*, to let me know that it behoves me to be satisfied, with an enumeration of all the obligations I have to Mr. Stanhope, which are, modestly speaking, more than I could pretend to. I have answered him, acknowledging my obligations to Mr. Stanhope, to which I think I had ever made a just return; but telling him very plainly, that I thought I had very good reason to complain of the Secretary's neglect, in the matter of my ministry at this court, and of his trifling with me in the matter of my stay here. That, to cut the matter short, I was satisfied that what was necessary to support me in this station, was more than my service could be worth, and that therefore, I was resolved to beg the King to recal me.

I spoke of my own merit very humbly, and acknowledged that, by the enumeration of what I had from the King, it was plain, I had more than I deserved; that his Majesty was master to take it all or any part of it; that it should not hinder me to be a very faithful servant to him; that, whenever there was an occasion, I should be ready to support his honour and interest with my life and fortune; that if a storm came I should be upon the deck, and durst stand by my tackle as well as another man; that I never had forsaken my friends; and that times might come when great men would do their friends the honour to know them.

I had a touch given me about cabals, too, which he said the King was resolved not to suffer. I said I ever had been an enemy to cabals, and ever would be so; that the King was my master, and that

\* He was private Secretary to George I. and wrote his most secret letters.

I knew



GEORGE I.

1717.

I knew no other. I trouble you with this detail, that you may see upon what footing these gentlemen have taken it about me; and that you may see, that, though I cannot be humble to people that use me as I think I have not deserved, yet, at the same time, I wont so much as have the appearance of leaving my friends when they may be in distress.

By what I have told you, you'll see it is probable I may see you in England very soon. I am afraid these convulsions at home may hurt our affairs abroad.

Mr. York \* continues to talk very wisely. He desires me to assure you, that he has taken his *pli*, and, happen what will, he will follow it; he is resolved to go into the country, to wait quietly and patiently, what becomes of the public, and of his private affair. He goes with Madame de Villette.—Miss is in a convent.

My dear Craggs,

Paris, June the 14th, 1717.

THE inclosed are from our friend York, who continues to behave himself perfectly well; so I am sure you will be inclined to do him all the service you can. I think, in justice, he ought to be distinguished from the rest of the party he is of, being almost the only man who has sincerely left it.

Our affairs abroad go very well. This court is firm to the alliance. The Czar courts the King's friendship, and has ordered his troops to leave the duchy of Mecklenburg instantly. He desires to take measures with the King, either for peace or war with Sweden; and offers to make a treaty of commerce to our satisfaction.

I wish our affairs went as smoothly at home, and a way could be found to get the better of our unnatural divisions.

\* A cant name for Lord Bolingbroke, which occurs frequently in this correspondence.

Paris, July the 28th, 1717.

GEORGE I.  
1717.

**I** SEND you inclosed a packet from *York*. You will see in what manner he bears his misfortune. I really pity him, because he is almost the only man of his party, that I have seen resolved to act a good part. He desires two things, for which I desire your intercession with Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Stanhope. The first is, that I may have orders to speak to the Regent, to consider him as a man under the King's protection. The next, that Brinsden may have leave to come into England, for *York's* private affairs, which require to be put into some order. As things stand now, if either his father or his wife should happen to die, he would be a very great loser.

Paris, October the 5th, 1717.

**I** HEARTILY wish there had been no schism amongst the Whigs; and you know I most heartily wished that it had been prevented in the beginning; but I cannot say, when things had unhappily come to certain extremities, that the King had any other party to take than what he did take. When he had taken that party, I was very heartily and sincerely for doing every thing in my power to support the King's service, in the hands of the servants he thought fit to employ. I can say with great truth, that there are no men in Britain that I personally love better, than I love both Lord Sunderland and Lord Stanhope. And besides that I have a very great and sincere value and esteem both for the one and for the other, I reckon myself tied to both by very great obligations. So that I am very far from having any grudge at seeing them in power, or from willing to see any others in their places.

And I agree with you, likewise, that in public affairs, when a measure is taken that a man does not approve of in his judgment, if it be only a matter of policy and not against the direct interest of

GEORGE I.

1717.

one's country, I think one should support the measure when once it is resolved, as if it was their own, and as if they had advised it; and I would have done both in the occasional, and the university bills; though I was very glad they were dropped, and thought it was very prudent so to do. But I will tell you what I mean: in taking public measures, I think the wisest and most moderate men's opinions should be asked and followed. For if rash councils are followed, you will not find hands to support them. By attempting things, even right things, which you are not able to carry, you expose yourself, in our popular government, to the having the administration wrested out of your hands, and put into other hands; may be, into the hands of the enemies of our constitution. I would have us keep in our strong ground, where I think nothing can hurt us, and where I think every attack that is made upon the administration must miscarry; and in that ground take the advantage of doing all the good and popular things you mention. Proceeding in that manner will strengthen the hands of the administration, and beget power and respect. But if heat and impatience will make you go out of the entrenchments, and attack a formidable enemy with feeble forces, and troops that follow you unwillingly, you will run a risk to be beat, and you wont get people to go along with you to purpose, by reproaching them that they are of this cabal, or of the other cabal, or by reproaching them that they are afraid. Make yourself strong, and they will follow you into danger; but, in my poor opinion, it is not safe to lead them into danger, till you are strong. May be, I am wrong, but this is my opinion; and yet, if I know myself, I am not of a fearful temper, and as capable to take a hardy resolution as another man, when it is needful.

Paris, October the 25th, 1717. GEORGE I.

1719.

**T**HE Duke of Ormonde and Mar are gone into Italy. Mar desired to see me; he came to my house and stayed four or five hours. By his way, he looked, at that time, upon their affairs to be desperate. He flung out several things as I thought with a design to try whether there was any hopes of treating. Because I did not think it was fair to give false hopes to an old friend, though I knew, at the same time, he would not have dealt so with me, we did not dip deep into particulars; but in conversations of that kind, there is always something curious to be learned. I believe our master has confidence enough in me, to think that nothing passed in the conference contrary to his service.

\* \* \* \* \*

My dear Craggs\*,

May the 7th, 1719.

**I** MUST say to you in private, that in the whole affair of the North, I am not at all satisfied with our friend the Abbé; nor have I been satisfied, at any one time, or in any one thing, relative to that affair, since his coming into the ministry. His sending no ministers to Petersburg; his not sending of Hooke to Berlin; the mystery he has made of Röttemburg's negociations at that court; his long and frequent conferences with Schleinitz; all the *Micmac* we have seen about the count de la Marck, whilst in Sweden; and the Abbé's behaviour since his return, displeases me much in every point, and shews an inclination to play foul play. I have but one thing to say for the Abbé, and that is, that, in truth and in verity, he does not understand one single bit of the affairs of the North, nor has any notion of them. Some time ago, when I had drawn him into talk with me of

\* Mr. Craggs was in March 1718, appointed Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. Addison.

GEORGE I.

1719.

these affairs, he acknowledged to me that he was very ignorant of those matters of the north, and of the interest of those northern princes, and how their dominions lie to one another; but he promised me that he would study the map, and employ some time *pour se mettre au fait*. I am afraid the Abbé has not found that time; and so he is no more knowing than he was formerly, and therefore is unwilling to talk of what he does not at all understand. If this thought of mine does not account for the Abbé's conduct, I do not know how to do it. For since the Count de la Marck's arrival, as I told you formerly, he assured me that he had brought no plan; that all he brought amounted to no more than that the Queen of Sweden was disposed to treat with the King preferable to her other enemies. When I pressed him a little, and put him in mind that he had shewed me a letter from the Count de la Marck, from Copenhagen, in which the Count told him he carried a plan for the peace of the North, he fell into a most violent passion, and raved for half an hour, reproaches and God knows what. The next day, he had instructed the Regent not to dip into particulars, but to promise me a paper containing what the Count de la Marck had to say. But, unluckily, the day before that, the very day I had spoken to the Abbé, the Regent had told me, that the Count de la Marck had brought a plan, and had given me an account of the principal articles.

On Sunday, I saw the Count de la Marck, who talked to me very fully. I was promised the paper, day after day, till Thursday I found the Abbé at home, the day he receives the foreign ministers. I had called in vain every day of the week since Sunday, and had been denied entrance every day. When I spoke of the paper, and told him I had delayed sending my courier till I had the Count de la Marck's paper, he flew into a violent passion, and said I had talked three hours together with the Count de la Marck; that, in that conversation, he had told me every thing he had to say,

and more than he had said to him or the Duke of Orleans; that such a conversation *valoit mieux qu'un chiffon de papier*. I told him I was very unwilling, in a matter of such consequence, to trust to my own memory; that I was afraid of mistaking and giving a wrong impression; that the thought of giving that paper was his own, and none of mine; that there was no need to be in a passion; that if he did not think fit to give the paper, I would make the best relation I could by my memory, and send away my courier to England without it. Well, says he, I will tell you all the contents of it upon my finger. To put it in writing is the work of a quarter of an hour; may be the Count de la Marck has done it already; if he has not done it, it shall be done to night, and you shall have it. I talked to the Duke of Orleans that same day, without taking any notice of what had passed with the Abbé. He was surprised that I had not received the paper; and talked to me in the manner I have related that conversation to you in my dispatch.

GEORGE I.

1719.

As I conceive it, the secret of this matter is, that France has a mind to the mediation and sole management of this negotiation; and, in order to that, they are desirous to keep us in the dark as long as possibly they can, that they may have the leading of us. It imports us much to get out of this situation as soon as we can. And as soon as that happens, that we see and hear with our own eyes and ears, and that we can speak for ourselves, France will act a fairer part with us. In the mean time, I am very much mistaken, if the ministers have not done their best to promote Sweden's agreeing with the Czar and the King of Prussia. But, as I take it, that agreement is almost impracticable, because of the incompatibility of the Czar's views and the interest of Sweden. For though the Count de la Marck assures me that the Swedes have their hearts set upon the recovering their dominions in Germany, it can never come into my head, that any Swede can think that any part of their domi-

GEORGE I. nions in Germany, or the whole, is of equal consequence to the  
 1719. nation of Sweden as Revel and Livonia.

I have waded through all the difficulties of the ceremonial. Monf. le Duc was very civil in his visit; and Monf. le Prince de Conti very much otherwise. I have but one small one remaining now, and that is, the Introducator pretends to send me the day and the hour for making my visit, without concerting with me whether the time is convenient for me, which I say cannot be; and the Regent is of my opinion.

Paris, May 29, 1719.

**I** SEND you enclosed the copies of two letters from Lord Mar at Geneva, of the 6th and 22d May; the originals I have sent to Hanover. I have received a third letter from him not signed, but writ in his own hand, where he speaks in the third person, in which he desires me to try if the King is disposed to grant him his pardon; and in that case he tells me, that he is ready to make his submission. He says, I may easily foresee with how many inconveniencies his making application, without knowing how it will be received, would be attended; and therefore begs of me not to shew the paper he sends me, to any body, in his hand-writing. He allows me to take a copy of it in my own hand, and requires of me to destroy the original. In a word, he has left the Pretender's service, and he has a mind to submit himself to the King, and to make his peace, if the King will restore him to his honours and estate.

You are to consider whether it will be worth the while to receive him. In my humble opinion, the taking him off will be the greatest blow that can be given to the Pretender's interest, and the greatest



greatest discredit to it. And it may be made use of to shew to the world, that nobody but a papist can hope to continue in favour with the Pretender.

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I need not represent to you the conveniences and the inconveniences of this matter. You are better able to judge of them than I can be. I desire you will consider of them with Lord Sunderland, to whom he desires his secret may be trusted, and begs it may be put into as few hands as possible. I wrote fully of that matter last night, by a messenger I sent to Hanover. In the mean time, this morning, I sent an express to Geneva, by which I wrote kindly to him, to encourage him to return to his duty, and to keep him in good humour; and to desire that the Republic of Geneva would give him no manner of hopes of being set at liberty.

This courier carries a letter of Lord Mar's to the Duke of Kingston, which he will probably shew you, in which I suppose he speaks the same language he has spoken to me. I shall be glad to know your sentiments of this matter as soon as may be. I wish you may think as I do. I own all his faults and his misfortunes cannot make me forget the long and intimate friendship and familiarity has that been between him and me. I shall mix nothing else in this letter. I have been very much out of order these five or six days last past; which, may be, has contributed a little towards my disliking the countenance this Court has worn these eight or ten days last past. I have been used, from time to time, to meet with such cold fits.—Probably this may go off, as the others have done.

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*Lord Mar to Lord Stair.*

May 6th, 1719.

GOOD Captain Brown will not, I hope, take amiss his old acquaintance Jo. Murray's writing to him at this time; and when he knows the occasion, I am persuaded he will forgive him, and comply as far as he can with what he is to ask him. My health is not so good just now, nor for some time past, as you would wish it; and I am advised to drink the waters of Bourbon for it, as being the likest to those of the Bath of any this side the sea, of which I formerly found so much good. The hot climate, where I have been for some time past, by no means agrees with my health; and I am persuaded, that where some of our company is gone would still do worse with me. The affair in which it might be thought my Captain would employ me being now, I suppose, over, for this bout, there needs be, I should think, no objection to what I should ask.

I am come part of the way already; but I would not go much further without acquainting you with it. And now I beg, that on the consideration of the health of an old friend, you will give me allowance or furlo to go to the waters of Bourbon, and to continue there so long as I may have occasion for them during the two seasons this year; and I promise to you I shall do nothing, in any way, the time of my being there, but as you would have me; so that this allowance can be of no prejudice to the service. If you cannot give me the furlo yourself, I imagine your Colonel will not refuse it; if you will be so good to ask it for me. But because the first season of the waters is going fast away, I should be glad you could do it without waiting to hear from your Colonel about it, who, I should think, would not take it amiss when you acquaint him with your having ventured to do so. Do not, I beg of you, think

think there is any fetch in this, or any thing but what I have told you, which, upon honour, is nothing but truth, and all the truth. I hope there will be no occasion of mentioning your having had this trouble from me to any, unless it be to your Colonel and one or two about him, and the person, it is like, you must speak to where you are. There is one with me, an old school-acquaintance of yours too, Mr. Stuart of Invernethy, whom you have seen dance very merrily over a sword; and if the allowance is granted me, I hope it will not be refused to him, for whom I promise as I do for myself.

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When I have done with the waters, I hope there will be no objection to my returning to Italy again, if I have a mind; but I judged it fit to mention this to you.

The person who delivers you this, will get conveyed to me what you will be so good to write.

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*Lord Mar to Lord Stair.*

My Lord,

Geneva, May 22, 1719.

I WROTE to you on the 6th, under the old names of Brown and Murray, which I hope came to your hands; but, in case it has not, allow me to tell you in this, about what it was. I have, for some time, been worse in my health than you would wish; the hot climate, where I have been this year and half past, by no means agreeing with me, and that of Spain I was sure would do worse, which made me unwilling to go there. I was advised to drink the waters of Bourbon, which are the likest to those of the Bath in England, that used to do me so much good; and thither I intended to go, and acquaint you with my being there as soon as I arrived. Before I got so far on my journey as the confines of France, I was informed.

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informed that there was no going thither, for me especially, without a passport, or allowance; which was the reason of my troubling you with the letter I mention above, begging, that you would be so good as to give me a passport for going there, or to procure one for me, if you was not at liberty to give it yourself. And I promised, upon honour, not to meddle in any way against the government during my being there. The expedition which threatened England being no more, as I was informed, to be feared by the government, and I only coming to France upon account of my health, made me hope that your master would have the goodness not to refuse this my request, since it could be of no bad consequence to him. I told you in that letter, that I would not advance in my journey much further, till I had your answer. I proposed to myself to go, and expect it at the waters of St. Prix near this place; but, in my way thither, I have had the bad luck to be stopped at the influence of the Hanoverian minister, as they call him. I went by another name than my own, and I am sure I was giving no offence or disturbance to any whatever. Upon the government of the state's sending to me, I owned who I was, since they would needs know it, and told them my story as above; particularly of my having writ to your Lordship, and that I expected your answer one of these days, as I doubt not but you will be informed. They have taken away any papers I had, but sealed up with my seal and that of the town major's; but they are but a very few, and of no consequence to any body but myself; and among them is the copy of my letter to your Lordship under the name of Captain Brown. How they intend to dispose of me I yet know not; and it is probable they will first acquaint and hear from your master upon it, before they dismiss me. I hope your Lordship may have already procured me an allowance for coming into France upon the account and conditions I proposed it; but if it be not yet done, I beg of your Lordship, that you will endeavour now to get it me; and I promise, upon honour,

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that I shall do nothing while there contrary to what you would have me, nor meddle, directly nor indirectly, in any business whatsoever, it being merely upon account of my health I ask it. I have a better opinion of your master and his ministers, than to think or suppose there will be any hard thing asked of this State as to me, when I was giving no manner of trouble, nor intending any disturbance against them, nor could that be of any advantage to their interest. The post is just going so I write in great haste, and I beg you may forgive such a scrawl. You may easily believe how impatient I shall be for your answer; so I hope it is needless to press your letting me have it soon.

There was a thing in relation to an old acquaintance of your's whom you used to call sometimes the governor, that I delayed in my last to mention, reserving it to be spoken of by word of mouth, for which I thought it more proper, and I believe it would not be displeasing to you; but the post now gives me not time to say any more of it, though perhaps I may give you a little touch of it by the next, and then you may see if it will be thought worth the while to be attended to. There is one thing which I should think makes a considerable difference betwixt my asking allowance now, to go to the waters of Bourbon, and formerly. I was then in the immediate service of the Chevalier, and now I have given up the seals which I had from him.

If I be allowed to go into France, it will be a favour of which I will ever be sensible; but if not, I hope I shall be allowed to return to Italy, where I may end my days in quiet, and those will not probably be many in that climate. I hope you will be so good as to pardon all this trouble from an old acquaintance, who always had, and ever will have, the greatest friendship for you; nobody being with more truth and respect,

Your's, &amp;c.

MAR.

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*Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.*

Paris, June the 4th, 1719.

**I**T has happened just as I foresaw it would, the cold fit is gone off, and the Abbé is as sweet as honey and as soft as oil again. They are alarmed at the King of Spain's coming to Pampaluna, and they imagine the Cardinal must certainly have some very deep design well laid, and concerted in France, to occasion a general revolution. I am persuaded there is no such thing. However, it has this good effect, it makes them cling fast to us, and makes them wish that the affairs of the North were composed, that, if there should be occasion for it, we may be able to help them. We should take this opportunity to push a point in the North, as long as we may hope to meet with no opposition from France; for as soon as their fears are over at home, it is probable they may return again to their old play, and endeavour to keep up the differences on that side in hopes to profit of them.

I don't think your scheme for the affairs of the North is a bad one, by any manner of means, to keep the Swedes out of the Empire, and to drive the Muscovites as far off as is possible. You can never hope to engage the princes that are embarked in the war against Sweden, to assist that Crown powerfully and to purpose, against the Czar, if you do not procure them considerable advantages, which indeed you do by your scheme. When you are all agreed in it, I am afraid you will find a good deal of difficulty to drive out the Czar. Carrying armies at so great a distance will be so very difficult and so very expensive, that I do not very well see how it is to be compassed. I know no other way but by distressing him in his trade. In order to do that, it is absolutely necessary that you should bring the Dutch into your measures; in taking that way you know how much we may suffer, in the first place, by the confiscation of the goods and effects belonging to our Russia company.

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The Abbé is firmly persuaded that the English ministers know nothing of all the business of the North, and that Monsieur Bernstorff keeps all the matters entirely to himself, and that there is no plan yet formed. Monsieur des Touches, who is arrived from England, confirms him in that opinion; and you may be sure, I say nothing to make him to change his opinion: it is very well that he is of that opinion, but it cannot last long. In a very short time they must be apprised of what the King intends and proposes; and, therefore, it will be necessary to speak to this court; in the first place, that they may have no reason to complain; and in the next place, to bring them to consent to our scheme, which will be easier at this time than it may happen to be afterwards. I have all along, in conversation with the Regent, endeavoured to persuade him, that, in the present state of the kingdom of Sweden, it can be of no great use to France, that that crown should preserve a foot in the Empire; and that the true and solid balance against the Emperor, and for preserving the liberty of Germany, must be by making a close conjunction among the princes of the north of Germany, who, united for their mutual defence and common interest, will always be able to contain the emperor within bounds, or to be too hard for him, with the assistance of Britain and France, if he should undertake any thing by force against the liberty of the German body. This thought, in general, pleases the Regent very well; but he does, by no means, like the particular part of it, to deprive the Crown of Sweden of their dominions in Germany. Till I have orders to speak, I shall avoid conversations upon the affairs of the North, as much as it is possible.

You will see the Abbé Strickland in England very soon, who is a very understanding man, and may be of very great use to us. He will give you an account of his conversations with the Abbé, who was not in good humour at the time of his being here.



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My Dear Craggs,

Paris, June the 14th, 1719.

I THANK you for your private letter by Colonel Campbell. What you say concerning Lord Mar, and of the unreasonableness of the party you have to deal with, is very right ; but, at the same time, I am of opinion, that one must often endeavour to do them good, even against their will. I should be very glad, for the old friendship between Mar and me, to do him service ; but, I own to you, my greatest aim is to do service to the King and to our country, by detaching him from the Pretender's interest, which I think cannot be done if you will exact from Lord Mar to abandon the Pretender, to make his submission to the King, and to do his Majesty some considerable service, before he can be assured of obtaining his pardon. This is the method that Lord Stanhope prescribes to me in his letter of the 7th of June, from Hanover. In my humble opinion, if this method is taken, you will drive back Lord Mar into the Pretender's service, and make every man that ever has been engaged in that interest irreconcilable to the King and to his country. What I would do is this : I would, in the first place, permit the Magistrates of Geneva, to give him the liberty of their town upon his engaging his word and honour not to go out, without their permission in writing ; in the next place, I would permit their giving him leave to go in the latter season to the waters of Bourbon for his health, upon his giving them an obligation in writing, upon his word and honour, to return thither after the season of the waters was over, and obliging himself not to meddle, directly nor indirectly, with any thing relating to the Pretender's service during his stay at the said waters. In the mean time, I would let Lord Mar know that, upon his making his submission to the King, and returning to

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His duty, his Majesty will be disposed to grant him his pardon; but as that matter requires the consent of Parliament, till that can be obtained, his Majesty will allow him a pension yearly equal to the value of his estate, which will amount to no great sum, considering what is already given to Lady Mar and to his daughter by her. By this means you will effectually disengage Lord Mar from the Pretender's service, and still continue masters of his good behaviour, without risking any more than a very inconsiderable sum of money. But till I receive further direction in this matter from the King, or from England, I shall meddle no more in this negociation. I shall content myself to write a general answer to Lord Mar, to endeavour to keep him in good humour, till I can receive further orders relating to him.

In the next place, I hope I may rejoice with you, that our treaty with the King of Prussia is concluded. By the project adjusted at Hanover, which Lord Stanhope sends to me, every thing seems to be made so palatable to the King of Prussia, that I am persuaded it will be agreed to at Berlin, to judge by what Mr. Whitworth writes, and especially by what Count Rottembourg writes to this court. I have much the better hopes of it, that this court does now extremely desire the conclusion of that treaty; because they are exceedingly alarmed with the King of Spain's preparations, which they apprehend, are designed to invade France. And another thing that gives them a great deal of pain, is, that the desertion begins to be very great in the Marechal of Berwick's army. They are of opinion, and with reason, that the hopes of the \* league of the North, keeps up the spirit of the Spanish faction in France, and encourages the Cardinal to stand out, and to frame projects of invading this kingdom, in hopes of a general revolution; all which hopes they think would be overturned, if the King of Prussia was detached from the Czar,

\* Between the Czar, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark.

and

GEORGE I.  
1719. and by that means, all expectations destroyed of a diversion in Germany, and of an invasion, from the North, in Great Britain. I have agreed with the Abbé du Bois, to dispatch a courier to Hanover, to represent the state of affairs here, and to press, for that reason, in the Regent's name, that the King would overcome all the difficulties that may yet obstruct the conclusion of the treaty with the King of Prussia, because of the great importance that it is of to his R. H. the Regent, at this critical juncture, to have the appearances of a league in the North, to act in favour of the King of Spain, destroyed. If we make use of the favourable disposition of this court, with skill and diligence, there is a fair prospect of our making an end of the northern war, in the manner we can desire, without any opposition from France; which we should certainly meet with, if their affairs at home did not give them as much pain, as they do at present. I have made so good use of this opportunity, that I have engaged the Regent, not to send back the Count de la Marck to Sweden, upon shewing him all the reasons why that minister was justly suspected by our court. I hope Lord Carteret is gone; and that he will be able to profit of the present favourable disposition to bring the Swedes into the King's measures; and that Lord Stanhope, having reason on his side, will be able to get the better of old Bernstorff's humour.

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1719.*Lord Mar to Lord Stair\*.*

Geneva, June 2d, 1719.

THIS afternoon I had the pleasure of your obliging return of the 29th of May to mine of the 6th and 22d; by which I have the satisfaction to see that I was not mistaken in your friendship; and it were unjust in me to expect any thing of you, notwithstanding of that, which you think either too much to take upon you, or wherein there may be a possibility of what may be thought a prejudice to those you serve. Your laying my request before them is all I could expect, and I doubt not of your having done that in the way most likely to obtain my desire. I will wait for it with patience; and hope, by such intercession, and their own good nature, of which I have had proofs before, that I shall soon have by you a favourable answer, since it is really and truly upon the account of my health I want leave to go to France, and that their interest cannot suffer by my being there. By taking some medicines since I came here, my health is rather better; but I find I shall not recover it to any tolerable degree, without the waters, which will make me the more obliged for an allowance of going to Bourbon.

I must own I am very civilly treated by the people of this place, and, beside to be free again, I have only to wish, that I had a little more liberty for taking the air and exercise. It will be towards a fortnight, I judge, before I can know from you the answer you have about me; and in the mean time, I believe I shall be obliged, upon account of my health, to ask the government here a little enlargement of my tether; and if I do, it shall be in such a way, that I fancy they can scarce refuse me, and which I am almost sure your master would not.

\* Transmitted to Secretary Craggs by his Lordship, in a private letter of June 14th.

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If any thing new occur, I will give you the trouble of another letter; and I will take up no more of your time just now, but to assure you that this new proof of your old friendship is not only a very sensible pleasure to me, but what would make me, if possible, more sincerely and affectionately, &c.

*Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.*

Paris, July 8th, 1719.

**I** THANK you most heartily for your private letter of the 25th, and for the mark of your friendship and confidence you give me in sending the several letters relating to your negotiations now on foot. You may be well assured, that I shall make use of the trust you repose in me with discretion, and as it becomes an honest man and a friend. I have already had copies of several of the most important papers sent me from Hanover; as soon as I shall have perused the whole, and have taken such extracts as are most necessary for my guidance, I shall return you the whole in a few days.

I am very sorry to see the affairs of the North take such an unlucky turn, especially for the King of Denmark's leaving us; for by that means, we come to stand single, and in a very dangerous and slippery situation. If we could wait, or Sweden could wait, time would shew us what part in prudence we ought to play. But I am afraid circumstances are such, that we must already have determined what part to take, and whatever that part is, and however wisely taken, the odds is against us, that it will be wrong; that is to say, that it will give handles to our enemies at home to find fault with the administration, and to our enemies abroad to hurt us. In the mean time, our squadron in the Baltic is exposed not only to make an ill figure, but is in real danger, especially if the Dane and Muscovite

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Muscovites are so far agreed to have taken measures together. But it is to be hoped, as it generally happens in such cases, that there is but a half concert between them. I hope Providence will continue to take care of us, and direct the King to take right measures; that is to say, measures that will be justified by success; for I take the conjuncture to be so delicate, that human wisdom, without it is assisted by good fortune, does not suffice to guide the wisest men in this case to take a right party. Doing nothing, we are exposed to be undone, by the measures the Muscovites may have taken with the Dane to attack our Squadron in the first place, for fear we should help the Swedes. If we do not assist the Swedes, that nation is in danger of being ruined, to the great detriment of our trade, and of all Europe. If we do assist them, we run a risk to entangle ourselves in their ruin, and to draw the enmity of the Dane upon ourselves; who, because of the situation of his dominions, is one of the most dangerous enemies we could have at this time. What I apprehend the most is, the conjunction of the Danish and Muscovite fleets; but there is this one reflection to give me hopes, that, in cases of the like nature, we have always seen allies run separately to the execution of their own particular projects, to the certain prejudice of the common cause. The evacuation of the Milanese after the battle of Turin, saved France in the first place; for those very troops, which the Emperor might have ruined entirely, and have made himself master of in detail, in three or four months time, made him rise from before Toulon; which place, and the success of the whole war was lost a second time, by the great detachment of the Emperor's troops to take possession of the kingdom of Naples. It is to be hoped, that the Danish and the Muscovite Ministers are no abler than the Emperor's Ministers were at that time; and that the union of these new allies, made in haste, is not more perfect than our union was with the Imperial Court at that time. In that case we may have an opportunity, in conjunction with the Swedes, to save

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them from the Czar. If the King of Denmark's project goes no farther, than making himself master of the little province of Dallie, which joins to Norway, and which would make it entirely impracticable for the Swedes to attack Norway, if the province of Dallie was in the King of Denmark's hands, there is no great danger if the Dane succeeds in it; on the contrary, that conquest would make the peace with the King of Denmark more practicable, because, in case of that conquest made by the Danes, that province might be preserved to them by the peace with Sweden; and, in exchange, the King of Denmark might yield to the Duke of Holstein, the isle of Rugen, and Pomerania, to make the said Duke an equivalent for Sleswyck; and to make the Crown of Sweden find their account in that, the succession to the Crown, after the decease of the Queen and the Prince of Hesse, might be declared in favour of the Duke of Holstein. So that, by this means, at least a part of Pomerania would again return to be united to the Crown of Sweden, with the accession of the Dutchy of Holstein.

As to the part this Court will act in the affairs of the North, my opinion is, that they will lye by entirely; and that they will not put out a little finger to help the Swedes; and they will be cooler to us as long as our distrust on that side lasts. For the constant practice of the Court of France, in all times, has been, to be very fond of their allies, when they could be of present use to them, and to be very neglectful of their best friends, when they were so unlucky as to have pressing need of their assistance. So it fares with the Swedes; and so it would fare with us, if we should have the misfortune to be in their case. In this matter, the present circumstances of the French nation will concur with the Regent's own natural temper to determine him to lye by, to see how we can get ourselves out of the affairs of the North. This Court is not sorry to see ours a little embarrassed, and they are very willing, in all cases of the like nature, to push us into danger and difficulties, as much as they can, and to



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stand aloof themselves. Such has been their conduct in all the negotiations in Spain before the war broke out; all the hard steps were made by the King and his Ministers. At Vienna we have borne the odium of all the unpalatable terms which have been exacted from the Emperor. In Holland, they have let the States know that they would have signed the instrument of the States accession, if our Ministers would have consented to do so. You may remember, that they have all along declared, that they would not allow the States to profit by the trade to Spain, if they did not come into the quadruple alliance. The Abbé du Bois has, in express words, told the Dutch Ambassador so, more than once or twice. At present, when the string of interrupting the commerce between Spain and Holland is touched, they give no sound; and shew plainly enough, that if we make such a declaration at the Hague, they will either not stand by us at all, or at least let all the odium of the matter fall upon us. I think it will be imprudent for us to make such a step, till we see that they are resolved to go hand in hand with us.

As to the affairs of Spain, you see how slowly and backwardly the war is carried on, and how unwillingly they are to come into measures to encourage the Spaniards to take arms for the recovery of their rights and privileges, which is the only sure and speedy way to make an end of the war. I am afraid we shall have difficulty to prevail with them to put their army into such a situation as may give encouragement to the Spaniards to endeavour to help themselves. I am afraid they have a hankering after a separate peace with Spain, which can end in nothing but ruin and destruction to the Regent. He sees it from time to time, and acts accordingly; but then, by fits and starts, other fears and jealousies prevail; which embarrasses the springs that gave motion to the war, and makes the execution feeble and slow; and, in the *interim*, time runs away, and the season of acting passes unprofitably. I have some suspicion that there is some underhand tampering with Spain. I cannot imagine what great bu-

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since the Sardinian Ambassador is charged with, to give him occasion to have every week long audiences of the Regent, and frequent and long conferences with the Abbé du Bois.

Our poor friend the Abbé is, by turns, all fire and all ice; one day flying in the air, and the next day grovelling in dust; one day open and frank, and the next day dark and mysterious. Sometimes he thinks I have too much power with the Regent, and endeavours to break off my seeing him in private; and, at other times, he desires I should have credit, and desires the Regent should hear me, and listen to me. I do the best I can to sooth him, and to bear all his inequalities. I wish, from my heart, he had the Cardinal's hat upon his head; but I am afraid, his master's temper is such, that he will never be brought to agree to it. He thinks the Abbé would be too independant, and make too great a figure if he had that hat upon his head. The same temper makes that he will never declare for any party, nor trust himself entirely to any number of persons; which temper and circumstances must, of necessity, produce a great uncertainty of measures, and a continual derangement in the execution of what is resolved. This is a great ill, but it is almost as hard to be remedied, as it is to make a plum-tree bear pears. We must see to jogg on the best way we can; and we should, in all probability, do very well, if we could avoid schisms in our own party. They make us weak and contemptible. You know my way of thinking as to cabals. I shall be an enemy to them at all times, and upon all occasions. I am much more in pain about our divisions at home, and our private dissensions, than about our foreign affairs.

Since I wrote what is above, I have seen the Regent, and shewed him the advice you sent concerning the *dernier ressource* of the Spaniards, which was imagined to be a design against his life. He thanked me; and said, that all he could do was not to expose himself idly, and, after that, not to be in pain about such designs, which were difficult to be put in execution. He told me on that occasion,

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that two days ago he had received advice, that within these few months, he had poison given him twice, which had taken no effect; he said he did not believe the fact, but that such intelligence had been given him to make him uneasy. He said, what, he thought, (poison excepted) he had most to apprehend, was from the Irish.

I afterwards gave him an account of the affairs of the North, and of the danger Sweden seemed to be in; being attacked at once, on two sides, by the Danes and the Muscovites. I told him, that I perceived the King was in great perplexity what measures to take, being pressed on the one side, by the desire of saving the kingdom of Sweden from total ruin; and on the other side, by dangers and difficulties that seemed to attend the attempting to save that kingdom: that I knew the king would resolve nothing without consulting with his Royal Highness, which I reckoned I should very quickly have orders to do; that, in the mean time, I had thought it necessary to acquaint his Royal Highness with the state of the affairs of the North, and of the dangerous prospect there was for Sweden, that his Royal Highness might have his thoughts about the matter, and consider in time what was fit to be done. He said, he thought it was absolutely necessary to save Sweden if it was possible; and that he would be ready to advance subsidies for that end, which he had only interrupted paying, because he found that it gave umbrage to the King; but that the state of the affairs of that kingdom being changed by the death of the King of Sweden, he would be ready to do, in that matter, and in all the other affairs of the North, what the King should think most adviseable. I thought it was fit to feel the Regent's pulse upon this subject. I afterwards tried the Abbé du Bois in the same manner. He said plainly, that the Regent neither could nor would give a penny of money; that he was up to the neck already, and could go no farther. I said, I reckoned the King would do as the Regent did, whatever that was; and that we had stronger reasons to act with caution in that matter, and not to in-

volve

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volve ourselves in the ruin that seemed to threaten their old ally. I told him that I had said a word to the Regent of the dangerous situation that kingdom seemed to be in, and of the difficulties there would be to save it; and that I had recommended it to his Royal Highness to think of that matter. He asked what the Regent had said. I told him, that his Highness seemed to be in pain for Sweden; and that he would think of that matter seriously, and speak to me again. I did not think fit to tell the Abbé what the Regent had said; because I had found him disposed to make an ill use of confidence made him of the like nature.

I spoke to the Regent, at the same time, of the measures to be taken with the Dutch. He asked me, if it was my opinion that the best way to deal with them was to threaten to interrupt their commerce with Spain. I told him, verily I believed it was. Well, if that be so, we must threaten them; and he said, he would send orders to Monsieur de Morville to do in that matter as Lord Cadogan should have orders to do. I told him, that it was absolutely necessary to go hand in hand; and at the same time, that it was absolutely necessary, that if we did threaten, we should put those threats into execution.

Then we talked of the affairs of Spain. I told him I thought it was very strange that the Spaniards, being disappointed in all their projects, did not begin to talk of peace, and to make overtures. He said, he had reasons to think they would do so very quickly; that the Abbé Landi, the Duke of Parma's Minister, had received a courier from his Master, and had desired to speak with the Abbé du Bois that afternoon; that what made him believe that he had some overtures of peace to make, was because he knew that the Duke of Parma had received a courier from Spain; and that, if the Abbé made any overtures, I should be immediately informed. The Abbé du Bois afterwards told me the same story.

Paris, August 10th, 1719.

**M**ONSIEUR de Crampredon sets out to-night, and carries with him three hundred thousand rixdollars in lingots of gold. The Regent has behaved himself exceeding well in this matter. He told me, that though the Abbé du Bois had been of another opinion, he himself had not varied from what he told me; which was, that it was dishonourable in France, not to assist such an ally as Sweden had been, when that Crown was in such extreme danger as it happened to be at present. The Regent told me very obligingly, that another reason which principally determined him to assist Sweden, was the engagements he saw the King had taken to support that Crown, and that he was very glad to give countenance to his Majesty's measures, and to support them as much as lay in his power.

Our friend the Abbé is now forward and active in dispatching this matter, and takes all the merit of it to himself. I am very well pleased to let him do so; and do not seem to remember one word of what he formerly said to me on that subject. We are embarked; God send us good success. If Sweden is able to do any thing to help themselves, we shall save them. We hear the Czar's fleet is in what they call the river of Stockholm; but it does not enter into my head that the Czar will venture to land his army; it is risking both his army and his fleet to be undone.

There is one thing I think we should take great care of; and that is, to have an engagement from the King of Denmark, that he will not join his fleet with the Czar's, which probably he would be glad to give, that we may not disturb him in his operations against Sweden. If the King of Denmark gives us the security we desire, as to his fleet, any progress he can make in the province of Dallee is of no consequence, and may serve to make the peace between the King

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King of Denmark and Sweden more practicable. For Denmark, to preserve the little province of Dalling, which covers Norway, will make no manner of difficulty to give up Pomerania. And, as things stand at present, I do not know but it is as good that Sweden should have a foot in the Empire as not, to keep the King of Prussia in check, who will certainly be at any body's service to do mischief, who has money to give, or advantages to offer.

The Marquis Scotti \* is arrived here this morning. I believe he has no great matters to offer, further than such general discourses as the Cardinal has all along flung out. His Eminency is too full at present of hopes from the North, and from Sicily, to make any proposals that can be listened to; and the Regent does not, at present, seem to be in a disposition to let himself be amused. He is more positive than ever, that there can be no good peace; no peace that is not more dangerous than the war, without sending away Alberoni; and I do now verily believe that he will enter into the necessary engagements with the people of Spain to determine them to take arms for the recovery of their privileges.

I am glad you are of opinion to receive the Dutch into the quadruple alliance, upon the conditions they offer. Their accession in that manner, will have all the effect we can propose from it; which is, the reputation of having them embarked in the same quarrel. And indeed, what they offer is as much as what France does at this very time. This Court will certainly accept of what the Dutch offer; for they were for having their accession at any rate; and would have signed with the explication the States gave. I am glad of this expedient for another reason; and that is, because it takes the odium of hard measures from off our backs, where the French very adroitly laid it.

\* The Minister of the Duke of Parma at Madrid, and for some time a great favourite of the Queen of Spain.

This

This affair of \* Guyposcoa is a very lucky one. If the French give their guarantee, it will be a leading card for all the rest of the provinces of Spain. If they refuse it, which I do not believe they will, it will shew us plainly what we have to expect.

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You may take it for granted, that the King of Prussia will not sign with us, till he sees what becomes of the Czar's negotiations and expedition.

My dear Craggs,

Paris, August 20th, 1719.

ALL our fine projects for this campaign are overturned at once. Monsieur de Belleisle, Marshal de Camp, arrived yesterday morning from the Marechal de Berwick, with the news, that it was impracticable to carry the castle of St. Sebastian by force, and that the siege must be turned into a blockade, which would require sixteen battalions; so that there would not be foot enough left to execute the project of entering into Arragon. I do not know what resolution the Regent has come to, for the operations of the rest of the campaign. I reckon it will be to take possession of all Biscay, and to establish winter quarters there. If this *contretemps* would encourage Alberoni to stand out, I should be very glad on it; for I should be sorry to make peace before we had made ourselves a little the better for the war; which, I think, might easily be contrived, more ways than one, if right measures are taken in time.

The Regent, some days ago, seemed firmly resolved to make no peace with Spain, without having Alberoni sent away in the first place. I do not know how far this unforeseen disappointment may make him change his mind; though I think it should not.

\* Some offers made from that province to connect themselves with France.



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Mississippi begins to stagger; the actions fall, and there are no more buyers; which has happened by Law's imprudence, and boundless desire of gain. He had raised the actions to such a price, that it required above forty millions to pay the interest at four *per cent*. When the French, by degrees, began to make this calculation, and found that it was impossible that ever the King could find his account to furnish such a sum annually to support Mississippi, they found themselves cheated; and they are now crowding to sell out. Law will do what he can to support the actions, but the thing is impossible. The mystery of the matter is this; in the original fund of one hundred millions, the King and the Regent had about forty millions; and the same proportion of additional subscription of fifty millions. The company bought the coinage of the King at fifty millions, to be paid in fifteen months. Besides these fifty millions, the King or the Regent, by selling out when the actions were at four hundred, might have got two hundred millions; at which rate they might have been supported. But by buoying them up to six hundred, to make the Regent win three hundred millions, Law risks to have the whole fabric tumble to the ground. For the French, who run on boldly and impetuously in the beginning of all enterprises, run back with the same impetuosity when once they are rebuffed. I do not know if I have explained this matter to you, so as that you will be able to understand. It is, certainly, something more extravagant, and more ridiculous, than any thing that ever happened in any other country. I wish for your diversion, I could but talk one hour to you upon that subject.

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Paris, August 24th, 1719.

I STILL like the expedition to Spain very well, and I believe it will have a very good effect: but I guessed, by letters I had from Hanover, that they did not like it there, and that it would not be made\*. So, for the very reason that I had proposed it, I did not think it necessary to press it.

I am afraid our squadron in the Baltic will be of little use to us; and, to tell you my mind plainly, I do not wonder that Sir John Norris is backward. I think that his orders are given with a diffidence, that does not inspire spirit into a man that is to execute them.

Paris, August 30th, 1719.

IN a long conversation I had with the Abbé to-night, he seems apprehensive that Torcy gains ground; and that there may be a close connection betwixt Law and Torcy, with views to turn the Abbé out. I am afraid this apprehension of the Abbé is not without ground; but, however that may be, I am persuaded we shall quickly see this Court take airs which will not be easy to bear; and I am not a little apprehensive, that we shall very quickly see them come into measures that we shall have no reason to like. If this should be true, we must not, in my poor opinion, seem to take any notice of it; but at the same time, it will behove us to exert ourselves to find out ways, without loss of time, to get rid of the pressure of the public debts.

I wish Lord Mar was at liberty, upon his parole to the town of Geneva, and he had permission to go to the waters of Bourbon; from whence he proposes to come hither to finish his treaty, which cannot be done by writing. I should be glad to know what pension you

\* It was made under the command of the late Lord Cobham.

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would allow him, till he can be restored. He desires his wife may be helped to touch her jointure, the payment of which is stopped by the Commissioners; without which, he says, she will not be able to make her journey from Rome. I have offered him, for that, credit upon me for a thousand pounds. Then he mentions an arrear due to him upon his salary as Secretary of State; but this last point he reserves to be treated by word of mouth.

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Paris, September 18, 1719.

**I**N answer to the first part of your private letter of the 18th of August, O. S. which relates to Lord Mar; in my opinion, if he does but treat and accept of the pension from the King, it is not a shilling matter to us whether he leaves the Pretender's cause, because he thinks it a bad one, or whether he leaves it because he thinks it cannot any longer be supported. The effects of his leaving the Pretender will be the same, in whatever manner he does it, and with whatever view: so I would let his Lordship please himself in that. It is very plain, in three or four months time, it will come to be all the same thing. All the Jacobites mouths are open against him already; when he withdraws his wife from Rome, and takes up his habitation at Geneva, he will have no party left for him to take but to fling himself into the hands of government; and if he should not behave himself as he ought, what do you venture? You are masters of stopping the pension.

I would let him go to Bourbon, that he may have an opportunity of coming hither to finish his treaty with me; and, I think, you may depend upon it, he will agree in your way, if you do not like his. I can see, he begins to grow exceeding uneasy, and to apprehend that the government has no other intention but to expose him. I hope the orders from Hanover concerning him will arrive speedily.

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speedily. If they do not, we shall force him back to the Pretender; and it is very plain he will have no manner of difficulty in getting away. The town of Geneva is heartily tired of keeping him prisoner; and we shall not be able to prevail with them to detain him much longer.

For the stories I mentioned to you relating to myself, they did not move me much. People that are, or pretend to be your friends, sometimes think people talk unkindly of you when they speak the truth and do you justice. I am far from being so partial to myself, not to know that I have many faults, which one may very well see without being an enemy to me personally. I know, my dear Craggs, how much I am obliged to you for your friendship, which goes even to partiality in my favour.

But supposing I had talents, and that I were fitter to serve you at this Court than another; you will be obliged to change your Minister. You may depend on it, this Court, with their fortune, will change their measures; and they will desire to have a man here that they may be either able to gain or impose upon.—You must henceforth look upon Law as the first Minister, whose daily discourse is, that he will raise France to a greater height than ever she was, upon the ruin of England and Holland. You may easily imagine I shall not be a Minister for his purpose. He is very much displeased with me already, because I did not flatter his vanity by putting into Mississippi. I did not think it became the King's Ambassador to give countenance to such a thing, or an example to others to withdraw their effects from England, to put them into the stocks here; which would have been readily followed by many. I have been in the wrong to myself, to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds, which I might very easily have gained if I had put myself, as others did, into Mr. Law's hands; but I thought it was my duty, considering my station, not to do so.

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If I am not very much mistaken, the taking of Messina has happened very luckily. Without that, I believe the Germans would not have received payment of their subsidies so very quickly; nor would the artillery and ammunition, which is now readily sent, have been given. I found them very deaf and backward, upon this subject, many days together. I am afraid there were some people who thought the time favourable to make up with Spain, at the Emperor's expence and of ours; and it is very certain our treaties in the North gave no joy here. The Abbé did not tell me so, but I could easily gather as much from what he said. He told me, that if some people prevailed, measures would be changed; that Torcy of late took the ascendant very much; and that the Regent discovered a great partiality towards him; and that, if it continued a little longer, he, the Abbé, would lay down. I am sure Law is in this thing; for he will be for removing every thing that does not absolutely depend on him, and that can, in any manner, stand in his way to hinder him to be first Minister. Law's heart has been set upon that from the beginning; and we stand too directly in the way of his ambitious views, for France to imagine that a good understanding can subsist long between the nations, if he comes to govern absolutely.

Paris, September 9th, 1719.

I TOLD you, in my former letter, what the Abbé du Bois said to me upon the subject of Torcy's taking the ascendant over him in the Regent's favour, and of the close connection he, the Abbé, apprehended was between Torcy and Law. He has since confirmed the same thing to me in several conversations; and seemed to be in very great concern, and to have thoughts of laying down, which I advised him not to do. The Abbé likewise told me that there were many things which were hid from him; and that he apprehended there was some change of measures. This possibly might be a copy of the Abbé's

Abbé's countenance to draw me in to speak. However, I shewed GEORGE I.  
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no apprehensions of any change of measures, but shewed great concern for him.

But to you I must freely own I apprehend this change of measures was very near at hand; and if this new miracle for the House of Austria had not happened to put Sicily into their hands, I believe we were upon the very point of seeing it break out; but, in my opinion, this sudden turn of fortune has given a check to that design. I shall not repeat to you what I said to you in my last private letter upon the delay of dispatching Chavigny. I shall only observe to you, that upon the idle story that prevailed here, that the Spanish army had come up to Messina after the town had surrendered to the Germans; and that they had been introduced into the town by a gate, which was still in possession of the Marquis Spinola, by means of the entrenchments he had made in the town; that, after the Spaniards had got in, there had been a furious battle in the town, in which all the German army had been entirely destroyed; I say, upon this idle story, Chavigny who, the Abbe told me on Tuesday night, was actually gone for Genoa, was not dispatched till Thursday morning, after the arrival of the Courier from Rome, who brought an account of the good state of the Emperor's affairs in Sicily. I do not take this for a proof; but I take it for a very strong presumption, when it is joined to Chavigny's former delay, and to many things which have occasionally slipped from the Regent, shewing his desire that the war in Sicily might not be ended.

Nobody can be so blind, as not to see that this Court has all along had secret negotiations with the Court of Spain, which they always hoped to bring to bear, and which nothing but the King of Spain's personal hatred to the Duke of Orleans, and their mutual diffidence of one another, has prevented. Do but look back into the management of the war of Spain; the backwardness to encourage the Spa-

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niards to take arms; and all their shuffling and lying that we have seen in the matter of the Marechal of Berwick's full powers; their allowing the Spaniards to be assisted by Frenchmen and from France; and their refusing to come into any measures to secure our trade; the affair of Dunkirk; and twenty other things of the same nature; and then see, if it is possible to believe that these people have played us fair play, or that they intend to do so in time to come.

It is true, they helped us in our treaty with the King of Prussia; but when did they do so? When they were apprehensive that the King of Spain was upon the point of breaking into France, and when they were very diffident of their own army, officers and soldiers. When things came to change in Spain, you saw how very cool they grew in that matter, and what part they acted in it. If our peace, unexpectedly made with Sweden, and Lord Stanhope's address, had not hurried that matter on much faster than was expected here, we should have no manner of occasion to give them thanks for their good offices. To judge by appearances, they were heartily vexed and surprized at the treaty; and I do not know but a good part of the disfavour the Abbé du Bois complains of, might arise from the reproaches Torcy made the Abbé of his want of skill and address in letting those treaties be concluded. Pecquet told an under-secretary of mine the other day, *My Lord Stair est un habile Ministre; il fait de L'Abbé du Bois tout ce qu'il veut. Je le sçais bien.*

If you ask me whence this change of measures proceeds? The reason of it is very plain; they tell the Regent that he has now overcome all his difficulties; that France is now greater, and in a more flourishing condition, than ever she was; and that, to make his court to the nation, he has nothing to do now but to enter into the ancient maxims and political views of the Crown; and to make all Europe depend on France, or to crush those that stand in the way. If

the



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the Emperor's affairs had gone ill in Sicily, as they were like to do, and a league offensive and defensive had been clapped up with Spain, I leave you to imagine in what condition we should have found ourselves immediately.

I desire, in this place, you will take notice of the attention this court has had of late to have couriers dispatched from Rome, upon every event of consequence that has happened in Sicily; and of the consequences that the arrival of every one of the couriers had; and of the variation it has produced in their conduct. Before I leave this point, I will take notice of another thing to you; and that is, that this court disowns that they had any hand in our treaties with Sweden, and Prussia; and the discourse of the people about the court is, that the court dislike them both.

I come now to take notice of another thing to you, which in my opinion is very much to be minded; and that is the spirit, behaviour, and discourse of the man whom, from henceforth, you must look upon as the first minister; and that is Mr. Law. He, in all his discourse, pretends that he will set France higher than ever she was before, and put her in a condition to give the law to all Europe; that he can ruin the trade and credit of England and Holland, whenever he pleases; that he can break our bank, whenever he has a mind; and our East India company. He said publicly the other day at his own table, when Lord Londonderry was present, that there was but one great kingdom in Europe, and one great town; and that was France and Paris. He told Pitt, that he would bring down our East India stock; and entered into articles with him to sell him at twelve months hence, a hundred thousand pounds of stock, at eleven per cent. under the present current price.

You may imagine what we have to apprehend from a man of this temper, who makes no scruple to declare such views, and who will have all the power and all the credit at this court.

I have been told, within this week, by a man who has ever given me the best intelligence from the Jacobites, that they look upon

GEORGE I. <sup>1719.</sup> their affairs to be in a better situation than ever they were in. He asked me, if we were sure of the Regent? I told him, yes. Then, says he, we are much mistaken; for we are assured, from hands we think good, that many months will not pass without a rupture between England and France. I told him, that was the sillyest of all their dreams. However, what that man said to me, has come into my mind several times since that conversation.

What I conclude from all this is, that it behoves us to be upon our guard; to have our eyes open, whilst we seem to suspect nothing; to press the Emperor, with all possible warmth, to make an end of the war in Sicily, and to make the conquest of Sardinia; and, in the mean time, to exert ourselves with all imaginable vigour, to find some immediate relief from the pressure of our public debt. In that case, we shall be able to make the execution of Mr. Law's scheme something difficult. I must not forget to tell you, that the Marechal d'Estrees pretends in two years to have a hundred ships of the line of battle.

Paris, September the 23d, 1719.

THE sudden turn of the Emperor's affairs in Sicily, and the good state of our affairs of the North, has made a very great change at this court. They seem now to have laid aside the scheme I mentioned to you lately, into which they were going very fast. The Regent appears now to court the King's friendship as much as ever; he speaks to me again with all imaginable confidence and openness; and he seems resolved to pursue the plan of the quadruple alliance. The Abbé seems to be in heart, and to have hopes again of getting the better of Torcy. About a fortnight ago, things were so bad with him, that he talked of nothing but of laying down. He then begged of me that I would make a last effort with the Regent against Torcy, which I promised to do; and have performed accordingly.

After

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After much discourse with the Regent about the necessity of removing Alberoni, and how dangerous it might be to his Royal Highness, to have the affairs of Spain in the Cardinal's hands, when the minority was over, and how easy it might be for Alberoni to form a party at this court against him, the Duke of Orleans, considering into what hands the young King would probably fall, when he came to be Major, I told him that there was one thing that had ever surpris'd me in his Royal Highness's conduct, who was a man of so much foresight and penetration, that I had forbore to mention it to him, for a reason which he would easily guess, when I had now told him what I had to say; which was, that I thought he had a sure way to maintain his power after the majority; which was by making himself entirely master of the foreign affairs, so that nobody but himself should have any perfect knowledge of the state of them; in which case it was impossible for the young King to be able to govern without his Royal Highness. That there was but one man in the kingdom that could have it in his power to hurt, by the knowledge he had of that matter, which was Monsieur de Torcy; and that, for that reason, I had always thought it strange, that his Royal Highness kept Torcy in the constant train and knowledge of all the foreign affairs. The Regent answered me, he was sure of Monsieur de Torcy. I answered him, that it might very well be, that Monsieur de Torcy was, and would be, faithful to him; but, at the same time, that it appeared to me that prudence required that he should not put himself entirely into Monsieur de Torcy's power; that he might load Monsieur de Torcy with honours and riches, but, at the same time, it might be adviseable to break the chain of his knowledge of foreign affairs, for some time before the majority; that in that case, as his Royal Highness was persuaded that Torcy had not the inclination to hurt his interest, he would then be sure that he had not the power; and that, afterwards, if he found that Torcy was

GEORGE I. faithful, he might then put the foreign affairs entirely into his hands,  
 1719. if he found it for his service.

The Regent heard with a good deal of attention what I said, and told me that the reflection I had made was a very judicious one; that it merited his serious consideration; that he would think of it; that, in the mean time, it appeared to him that the wisest thing he could do, was to follow the advice I had given him, and to break the chain of Torcy's knowledge of foreign affairs. The Regent tried me upon the head of the Abbé. He said Torcy and the Abbé were very ill friends. I told him I had heard so; but that I did not enter into their quarrels; that my reflection was abstracted from every other consideration, but regard to his Royal Highness's interest.

As soon as this conversation was ended, I gave an account of it to the Abbé, who received it with great pleasure. He was in the greatest apprehension that Mr. Law, in conjunction with Torcy, had a mind to turn him out. The Abbé is now labouring hard to make his project to bear, to accommodate the affair of the constitution. The Abbé's project is to prevail with the Cardinal de Noailles, to accept of terms to be proposed by the neutral Bishops, which he says, are very advantageous to the appellants; but, at the same time, they are very agreeable to the court of Rome; to that degree, that, if the project succeeds, the Abbé is to have the hat without the nomination of either the Emperor or France; and of this the Abbé thinks himself well assured. To facilitate this project, the present Nuncio is recalled, and another is to be sent in his place. The Abbé, who has many letters of the Nuncio, in which he talks very indiscreetly of the Regent, to ingratiate himself with the Nuncio, prevailed with the Regent not to insist upon his being recalled and excluded from the promotion of Cardinals to be made. So he is to go home, by the Pope's order, and is to be Cardinal at the first promotion. But the Abbé's civilities have had no effect; for the Nuncio continues to write to Rome in the strongest terms, in favour of the Archbishop of Rheims,

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Rheims, which piques the Abbé much. This matter of the accommodation is at this present time in great agitation. The news of the town is, that the Cardinal de Noailles is to be sacrificed to the Pope.

The affair of Mississipi goes on with the same fury. They have made a new submission for fifty millions at a thousand per action, which raises five hundred millions, to be paid in ten months. The public has run upon this new subscription with that fury, that near the double of that sum is subscribed for; and there have been the greatest brigues and quarrels to have place in the subscription, to that degree, that the new submissions are not yet delivered out, nor is the first payment received. Mr. Law's door is shut, and all the people of quality in France are on foot, in hundreds, before his door in the *Place Vendome*.

I hope our good success in the North will make our affairs in Parliament easy; we must in that case exert ourselves to do something decisive towards the payment of the public debts, if we do not intend to submit ourselves to the condition, in which Mr. Law pretends to put all Europe. He says, *il rendra la France si grande que toutes les nations de l'Europe, enverront des Ambassadeurs à Paris, et le roy n'enverra que des couriers*.

The talk of Paris is, that the peace with Spain is as good as made by the means of Scotti; but I do not believe it. As things stand, I am persuaded the Regent will go on with the allies, to reduce Spain, without making a separate treaty. That party, at present, would be too dangerous; though at the same time I am well assured there have been under-hand dealings, which would have had very bad consequences if the Emperor's affairs in Sicily had not taken a lucky turn, and if our treaties in the North had miscarried.

Lord Mar's affairs has taken a very ill turn. Robethon wrote to Marfay the reasons, why neither of the Secretaries of State would send orders for his being at liberty upon his parole, and desired that

he

GEORGE I. <sup>1719.</sup> he would let the first people of government know that it would not be disagreeable if they would take it upon themselves to release Lord Mar, taking his parole of honour, not to go out of their territory without their leave. This the town of Geneva would not come into. They said, it was losing the merit of what they had done, in arresting Lord Mar; and because the King had expressly desired in his letters, that Lord Mar might be kept safe, till they heard further from his Majesty. This vexes Lord Mar mightily, and makes him believe that he has been amused all this while, and that the court never had any other design in treating with him, but to expose him. You may imagine that I have my own share in this vexation. I would not have him think that I had played an unfair part to him. Another thing troubles him, he loses the season of the waters of Bourbon, which he really wanted for his health, which is very bad. I wish it were possible to set this matter right.

Paris, October the 12th, 1719.

MY opinion of Lord Mar's affair is, that, upon his petition to the government of Geneva to be set at liberty, upon his *parole*, to go to the waters of Bourbon, and to return thither, to remain under the engagement he offered; the government of Geneva should have represented the thing to the King, and his Majesty should have allowed them to do as they thought best; and a private intimation should have been given, that the King would not take it amiss if they granted what Lord Mar desired. By this means, none of the King's servants would have been exposed, and, in my opinion, you would have detached Lord Mar from the Pretender's service. He is tired of that court, and would be very glad to save his honours and his estate to his son.

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Paris, October the 20th, 1719.

AS to Lord Mar, the things that shock you shock me; but our business is to break the Pretender's party, by detaching him from it, which we shall effectually do, by letting him live in quiet at Geneva or elsewhere, and by giving him a pension. Whatever his Lordship's intentions may be, it is very certain in a few months the Jacobites will pull his throat out. You know them well enough not to doubt of it. At the same time, I know by Dillon, and others, that the Pretender looks upon Mar as lost, and has had no manner of confidence in it, ever since Lady Mar came into Italy. They looked upon her as a spy, and that she had corrupted her husband. This, you may depend upon it, is true.

Paris, October the 29th, 1719.

LORD MAR is *outré* at the usage he has met with. He says, our ministers may be great and able men, but that they are not skilful at making profelytes, or keeping friends when they have them. I am pretty much of his mind. He was certainly determined to leave the Pretender's interest, and intended to begin by withdrawing altogether and living retired, till this usage gave him a handle to go farther. The Pretender, I know, wrote him the kindest letter imaginable, since his return into Italy, with the warmest invitation to return to his post, which he refused absolutely, upon pretext of his health, and the resolution he had taken to meddle no more in public business. Saladin, who is now at Paris, saw the letter, and Lord Mar's answer. Lady Mar has left Rome, and is in her way to her Lord. I lent him money, for her to make the journey. He is now full of resentment, and in most violent agitations. They have offered to let him escape; and it is feared he will take the



GEORGE I. the resolution. I have advised him against it ; but, I own to you,  
 1719. I can hardly imagine, that a man of his temper, and in his circumstances, will refuse his liberty, when he sees he has nothing but ill usage and neglect to expect from us.

à Paris, ce 11 Dec. 1719.

**I**L y quelques jours qu'on m'avertit, de tres bonne part, que Monsieur Law avoit dit à Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, que c'etoit moi qui avois été cause de l'attaque qu'on avoit faite en dernier lieu sur la Banque. Sur cet avis je pris la resolution de m'claircir sur ce fait avec Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans ; & je tournois la conversation de maniere que S. A. R. me dit qu'on l'avoit dit que j'étois cause de l'attaque sur la Banque. Je lui dis ; Monseigneur, je sçais que Mr. Law vous à tenu tel discours, et je suis bien aisé d'avoir l'occasion de prouver à V. A. R. qu'il est absolument faux, dans toutes ses circonstances. Il est tres vrai que les Sujets du Roi mon maitre ont un tres grand poids d'argent dans ce pais ici, qu'il m'auroit été fort aisé de faire porter contre la Banque. Mais, s'il est vrais, que ni moi, ni aucun Sujet du Roi ait porté des billets pour être changez à la Banque ; si nous n'avons pas porté les *actions* sur la Place, pour les faire baisser ; s'il est vrai que je n'ai eu nulle communication avec ceux qui ont couru sur la Banque, V. A. R. doit être convaincuë que le discours de Monsieur Law est non seulement faux, mais que c'est la calomnie du monde la plus atroce, et la plus indigne ; laquelle ne tend pas seulement à tromper V. A. R. sur mon chapitre, qui suis son serviteur affidé de tout temps, par reconnaissance et par affection ; mais qui tend à brouiller V. A. R. avec le Roi mon maitre, qui est votre meilleur ami, et votre meilleur allié ; car je sçais que Monsieur Law a dit, au meme temps, que ce que je faisois à cet egard, je le faisois par ordre de ma cour.

Or,

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1720.

Or, Monseigneur, si Monsieur Law ne peut pas prouver à V. A. R. qu'il y a un de ces trois faits vrai, comme j'avance hardiment à V. A. R. qu'ils sont faux tous trois, il doit passer dans l'esprit de V. A. R. pour un Calomniateur qui a dessein de la tromper dans des choses de la dernière conséquence. Mais, ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que je sçais les bonnes intentions de Monsieur Law pour sa patrie, & les desseins qu'il a de mettre le Roi mal avec V. A. R. — Il n'y a que huit jours que Monsieur Law nous a menacé publiquement, en présence de plusieurs Sujets du Roi mon maître, d'écrire un livre pour convaincre toute la terre que la Grande Bretagne étoit dans l'impossibilité de payer ses dettes. Tels sont les discours ordinaires & publics de Monsieur Law. V. A. R. peut juger quelle effet cela peut produire, quand un homme qui prétend être votre premier ministre tient des tels discours. Il y a long temps que je le sçai, mais je n'en ai rien dit à V. A. R. parceque j'étois persuadé qu'elle ne pensoit pas de même; & parceque je regardois ces discours comme les effets de la sottise vanité & de l'ivresse de Monsieur Law, dont, depuis quelque temps, je lui voyois la tête tournée. Ensuite je contai à Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans beaucoup d'autres discours de cette même nature. Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans à écouté tout ce discours avec des convulsions dans son visage. A la fin, il me dit; My Lord, voilà véritablement les discours d'un fou. Je lui dis, Monseigneur, je ne dis rien à V. A. R. que je ne disse en présence de Monsieur Law, et que je ne prouve; après cela V. A. R. peut juger s'il auroit été étonnant si j'avois véritablement agi de la manière que Monsieur Law a fait accroire à V. A. R. que j'avois agi; mais je me suis gouverné par les égards que j'ai toujours eu pour les intérêts de V. A. R.

Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans me dit à la fin, qu'il étoit très aisé de ce que je venois de lui dire; qu'il m'avoit toujours regardé comme son ami, et qu'il avoit eu de la peine à croire que j'eusse voulu nuire à ses opérations.

VOL. II.

4 H

Voilà

Or,

GEORGE I.  
1720.

Voilà à-peu-pres ce que s'est passé entre Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans & moi, sur le chapitre de Monsieur Law. Vous y ferez les reflexions necessaires. Cela n'a pas besoin de commentaire.

à Paris, ce 7th Janvier, 1720.

**L**E REGENT s'apperçoit si bien des dangers ou Law le precipite, qu'il m'a dit depuis quelques jours, à plusieurs reprises, les choses du monde les plus fortes contre la vanité, la presumption, et l'insolence de cet homme. Il m'a dit, qu'il le connoissoit pour un homme à qui la vanité et l'ambition demesurée avoit tournée la tete; que rien ne pouvoit le satisfaire que d'être le maitre absolu; qu'il avoit une telle presumption de ses propres talens, et un tel mepris pour tous les autres hommes, qu'il étoit impraticable avec tout autre homme; qu'il avoit essayé de le faire travailler avec tout ce qu'il y a d'habilles gens en France, et qu'il n'avoit pu s'accommoder deux jours de suite, avec qui que ce soit, étant impatient de toute espece de contrariété ou contradiction. Il m'a dit, qu'il lui avoit lavée la tete de ses discours insolens qui alarmoient tout le monde, de maniere qu'il avoit lieu de croire que Law se seroit contenu; mais qu'il voyoit bien que nul frein ne le pouvoit retenir. Mais, dit le Regent, croyez moi j'y mettrai si bien ordre qu'il ne sera pas capable de me brouiller avec le Roi, ni de me deviser de mes alliés. Il faut que je m'en serve dans mes Finances; mais il ne sera ecouté dans les affaires politiques; et je serai en garde contre les mauvais desseins qu'il peut avoir.

Je veus bien croire que le Regent dit ce qu'il pense, & qu'il le pensoit veritablement dans le moment qu'il m'a parlé; mais, avec tout cela, un grand Tresorier tel que Law est premier ministre par tout ou il se trouve en place; et si le systeme de Law s'etablit, nous sommes egaleement perdus, un an plus tot, un an plus tard. Et de plus, croyez

croyez mois, nous devons connoître cette nation ici ; nous ne pouvons jamais, avec raison, compter sur leur amitié, que tant que vous serez en état de leur être un ennemi dangereux, et de leur faire envisager des grands maux que nous pourrions leur faire si elle rompoit avec vous. Sur ce pied là, leur amitié sera assurée ; mais nous nous mécompterons toutes les fois que nous nous fions sur eux en cas de besoin.

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1720.

Vous aurez reçu un courier de Monsieur l'Abbé du Bois, par lequel il vous aura dit, que je lui ai dit, jeudi dernier, que je demanderois à être rappelé. Ce n'est pas par picque ; mais je prevois, par le train que les affaires prennent, je ne serai plus en état de pouvoir rendre aucun service au Roi dans cette cour.

à Paris, ce 20th Janvier, 1720.

**PUISQUE** My Lord Stanhope a jugé à propos de déclarer mon rappel au ministres de cette cour, qui ont eu soin de le publier par toute la ville, j'espère que le Roi enverra, au plutot, quelqu'un de confiance à Paris ; ou, si je ne me trompe fort, sa Majesté aura bientôt besoin d'un ministre éclairé. —

— Par rapport à ce que m'est arrivé, je ne dirai mot. J'ai toujours été prêt, quand il s'agit du service public, de me compter pour rien. Je souhaite très fort, que l'on puisse se trouver bien des soumissions qu'on a jugé à propos de faire à Monsieur Law. Je vous avoue, qu'elles m'ont parues un peu fortes ; & je prevois que difficilement en tirerons nous ou honneur, ou utilité,

Du reste, je n'ai nul regret d'être tiré d'un poste, lequel j'ai prèveu, depuis quelque temps, alloit devenir trop difficile et trop délicat pour moi. La manière n'a pas été trop gratuite ; mais cela ne change rien à mon devouement immuable au service du Roy, & de ma patrie.

GEORGE I.

1720.

My dear Craggs,

Paris, February the 14th, 1720.

I HAVE received your letter of the 25th January, by La Croix.

I have read it over and over again, in that spirit and temper with which one ought to receive advice and reproof from a friend. I am very sensible I have faults, and I endeavour to correct myself of those you reproach me with.

As I grow older I shall have less vanity; and it is not impossible I may become less a dupe, by having more experience; but you lay other faults to my charge, of which certainly I am not guilty. I never was a man humourfome in business; I never have made any disorder by my private broils, and animosities; I have ever been an open and professed enemy to all cabals;—I never was in one in all my life-time. I believe, I may be allowed to say without vanity, I have been as steady in the way I thought right, as most people. I have been as unshaken in my principles, and as firm to my friends, when fortune frowned upon them; yet I have always lived in charity, in decency and good manners with those who were of the opposite side.

I cannot tell from what actions of mine, you have collected that I am a man capable to sacrifice the public good; and the King's service, to my own humour and resentment. I heartily wish, that every body that has the honour to serve the King, were as much above that little way of thinking as I am.

Though I am very far from thinking I have been well used, yet, when the good of my country is concerned, and the King's service, you shall always see me full as ready to support the King's ministers, and to concur with them in right measures, as those who have the good fortune to be most in favour.

As to Lord Stanhope, I have ever had a very great value and esteem for him; and I have, upon all occasions, endeavoured to give him the sincerest proofs of my friendship, and faithful attachment to him; and I dare say it, with great truth, that I have not given him.

him the least reason to complain of me personally. I am sorry if I have not been able to deserve his esteem, but I am sure I have deserved his friendship, at least his good will. What has happened lately, I own to you, has piqued me very much, especially the manner of doing it; but I reckon, that has proceeded from his views as a minister, in which I frankly declare unto you, I think he has been very much mistaken. I shall readily agree with you, that if his Lordship has gained Mr. Law, and made him lay aside his ill will, and ill designs against his country, he did very right to make all sort of advances to him; to give his son \* a regiment; to engage to bring Lord Banbury into the House of Lords; to sacrifice the King's Ambassador to him. If I had thought Mr. Law to be gained, I should very readily have advised to do all these very things, and a great deal more. But, if his Lordship has not gained Mr. Law, I am afraid we shall not find our account in Lord Stanhope's supporting him, when he was ready to fall; in making him first minister; and in destroying the personal credit I had with the Regent, and recalling me from this court, where my long stay should have enabled me to be better able to judge of their design, and of their ways of working, than a stranger of greater capacity could probably be. A little time will shew who has judged rightest. I do most heartily wish, for the good of my country, that I may be found to have framed a wrong judgment; but I own to you, I have seen nothing yet to make me change my opinion, but on the contrary new things every day to confirm me, that Mr. Law's designs, and the views of this court, are just what I represented them to be. You do me great wrong if you say, that I advised to break with the Regent, if he did not agree to part with Mr. Law. You will find no such thing in any of my letters. You will find there, that I thought it was useful to endeavour to shake Mr. Law's credit with his master; to make his master jealous of Mr. Law's ambition, and apprehensive of the

\* Lord Wallingford, who married Law's daughter.

GEORGE I.

1700.

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1720.

dangers his presumption might lead him into; and that I thought it was fit to stand in his way, as much as it was possible, to hinder him to gain an absolute power over the Regent's mind, and to obstruct his becoming first minister. I thought it was fit, to make Mr. Law lose temper, and to make him act in passion and rage. I had not succeeded in all these views when Lord Stanhope arrived, and thought fit to demolish me and all my works at once.

You will find beside in my letters, that I advised with more warmth than possibly became a man of so little weight as I am, to think of speedy ways to put the payment of the public debts into a method, as the only sure way to avert the dangers which I took to be imminent, and the only way to procure a good understanding between our court and that of France. These things you will find in my letters.

But you do me greater wrong, when you say, that the representations I made of the dangers we were in, proceeded only from my resentment against particular persons. These are cruel insinuations to be made to one's master, and to their country. I am very sorry to see, by letters from people at London to their friends, that such methods are used against me. I must say, I have, in all respects, deserved fairer usage; and, if this continues, I shall be obliged to speak in my own justification. I am not afraid that my actions should be set in a true light, though it is very hard that what ministers write in private letters should be propaled, and that the court, from whence they write, should be acquainted with the intelligence they give. At this rate, you will find it hard to get Ambassadors to serve upon such conditions; and, indeed, after the usage I meet with, I do not wonder to see that our ministers have so few friends, when they shew so little regard or management to the people who are attached to their interest.

As to Mr. Law, I have no ill will to him, but as I take him to be a dangerous enemy to my country. I am afraid, time will,



will, but too plainly, shew that I have judged right in that matter. GEORGE I.  
1720.

As to my revocation; if it was possible I should have a mind to stay in this country, you have made it impracticable. You have taken all effectual ways could be thought of to destroy the personal credit I had with the Regent. You have made it plain to him, that I have no credit with the King; that is to say, with his ministers. Lord Stanhope has declared to Mr. Law, that I shall be recalled; so that is no longer a question. You are under the necessity of sending another minister to this court.

As to the manner of my revocation, I do not care to make the grievance of desiring it for false reasons. I declare to you, at my return, I expect nothing, and I fear nothing.

As to my behaviour when I come home; I refer you to what I have said in the beginning of this letter. I shall ever be a faithful servant to the King, and act as a man in whom the love of his country is superior to all other considerations; so that our ministers may be as well assured, if I happen to be at London, of my little assistance, providing they do what is right, as if they had used me very well. I have no manner of itch after power, nor any manner of ambition to make a great figure.

For you, my dear Craggs, I hope I shall never do any thing to make me unworthy of your esteem; and you shall see, that I shall ever set the greater value upon your friendship.

---

à Paris, ce 22 Fevrier, 1720.

**M**ONSIEUR l'Abbé du Bois me parlant de l'affaire de Gibraltar, m'a dit que my Lord Stanhope, étant à Paris, en dernier lieu, avoit parlé à lui & à Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans de maniere qu'ils avoient cru que le Roi ne feroit pas difficulté de rendre Gibraltar;

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1720.

& que sur cela, Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans avoit encore, de nouveau, assuré le Roi d'Espagne que Gibraltar seroit rendue; et que l'honneur de Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans étoit tellement engagé dans cette affaire là, tant par rapport au Roi Catholique, que par rapport à la France, qu'il prevoit des très mauvaises suites, si l'on s'opiniâtroit en Angleterre de ne point rendre Gibraltar: que Law étoit fou, et furieux, et ne demandoit pas mieux que la guerre, quoi qu'il étoit clair que son système du Papier tomberoit entièrement; mais que lui (Law) disoit, au contraire, que ce seroit dans la guerre qu'on verroit la bonté de son système.

Monsieur l'Abbé du Bois me dit, que le blâme de toute cette affaire tomboit sur lui; & que Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans lui avoit dit, qu'il n'auroit jamais pardonné à un autre la faute qu'il avoit fait, en nous communiquant l'acceptation du Roy d'Espagne: que sans cette bevue, la reddition de Gibraltar étoit sûre.

Monsieur,

à Paris, ce 28 Fevrier, 1720.

**H**IER Monsieur l'Abbé du Bois m'a dit, que Law et \* le Blanc étoient liguez pour l'exclure de maniment, et même de la connoissance des affaires, et qu'on ne luy donnoit l'Archevesché de Cambray, que pour luy donner un successeur comme Secrétaire d'Etat. Il me dit, qu'il ne s'en mettoit pas autrement en peine, que parcequ'il voyoit, que ces Messrs. alloient embarquer Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans dans des mesures, qui le perdroient et l'Etat au même temps; mais que luy, l'Abbé, étoit obligé de se contenir et de tout avaler, jusqu'à ce qu'il fut en possession de l'Archevesché, et qu'alors il diroit librement son sentiment à Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans. Il m'a dit, que Law et le Blanc ne respiroient que la Guerre, quoi qu'il étoit évident à tout homme sensé, que dès le moment qu'il y eut une Guerre, le système de Monsieur Law étoit perdu; et que Monsieur

\* Secrétaire de la Guerre.

le Duc d'Orleans se trouveroit sans amis, et sans appuy dans un Royaume pret à se revolter, contre la tyrannie, et les vexations de Law. GEORGE I.  
1720.

L'Abbé a dit presque les memes choses à Monsieur de Pentherreider \*, avec plusieurs circonstances, qu'il est inutile de repeter.

Law parle d'une insolence sur le chapitre d'Angleterre, qui revolte meme les François; et dit, qu'il ne faut pas, que Messrs. les Anglois barquignent sur Gibraltar, on leur fait trop de grace de leur laisser le Port Mahon.

Il y a deux jour, qu'il pria a diner notre ami York †. Il luy parla d'une maniere si meprisante & si insolente de l'Angleterre, que York dit, qu'il ne remettra jamais le pied chez luy. Il croioit apparemment, que York, parceque qu'il n'avoit pas obtenu sa grace, seroit bien aise d'entrer dans ses veues.

Un homme de mes amis a dit avanthier à Law;—" Monsieur, qu'est ce que le bruit qui est repandu par tout Paris, que nous allons avoir la Guerre? Je suis persuadé, que vous n'y avez nulle part. Un homme qui songe à faire fleurir l'Etat par le commerce, & par des etablissmens qui demandent la paix, ne songe point à la Guerre." Law luy repondit froidement; " Monsieur, je ne souhaite pas la Guerre, mais je ne la crains pas."

Admirez l'insolence de cet homme. Pendant que son systeme esbraalé le menace de l'ecraser par sa chute, à tout moment, il ose pretendre vous mener le baton haut. Qu'en seroit il, si son systeme étoit établi?

Vous ne verrez que trop, que j'ay bien connu cet homme, et ses mauvais desseins, contre sa patrie, & le mechant usage qu'il meditoit de faire de son credit auprès de son maitre.

Vous avez mal jugé, quand vous vous etes imaginé, que je me laissay emporter par pique et par humeur.

\* Ministre de l'Empereur.

† Lord Bollingbroke.

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Dieu scait, que je ne suivois que les mouvemens du zele et d'attachement à mon Roy et à ma patrie. Je vous ai parlé vray, en homme éclairé, pendant que vous m'avez traité en visionnaire, quoi que je puisse dire, sans vanité, que vous aviez raison de vous fier à moy, et de vous defier de ceux à qui vous ajoutiez foy. Je ne parle pas de my Lord Stanhope. Je le reconnois pour tres honnete homme, bon citoyen, et bon serviteur du Roy. Je le respecte, et je l'honore; quoi que j'ay raison de me plaindre de luy, je n'ay nul resentiment contre luy. Il croioit servir l'Etat, en me donnant des mortifications. Il s'est trompé, et tout homme se peut tromper. Je vous en repond, si vous m'aviez laissé faire, Law seroit perdu, à l'heure qu'il est; et l'Union entre le Roy et Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans seroit plus étroite que jamais. A l'heure qu'il est, il faut songer, au plus tot, d'envoyer un autre ministre à cette cour. Pour l'amour de Dieu, envoyez y un honete homme, avant toutes choses; & un habile homme, si vous le pouvez trouver.

My dear Craggs,

Paris, March the 12th, 1720.

**I** THANK you for your private letter by Lyon my servant, which I received yesterday morning. Before I begin to answer it, give me leave to premise one thing to you, which is true, upon my word and honour, and that is, that I have no desire to be in the right out of vanity; but I do most passionately desire that you may not continue to be in the wrong. I mean the ministers; because you cannot do so without infinite prejudice to the King's service, and to yourselves.

Now I will allow the reasoning of your letter to be good, taking it for granted that the facts upon which your reasoning is grounded are true; that is to say, that I will agree with you, that the King was in the right not to put things upon that issue with the Regent,  
that

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*that he would have peace and friendship with him if he would sacrifice Law, but war with him if he would not.*

Now, I must beg pardon to say two things, first that I never did put things upon that issue; and, in the next place, that there was no need of putting things upon that issue.

You will find, in my letters, that I represented to the Duke of Orleans that Law, by his vanity and presumption, was leading him into great dangers and inconveniencies both at home and abroad; that Law, by going too fast, and by taking arbitrary measures, was in a way to ruin his Royal Highness's credit with the nation, and to overturn the whole system of the finances; and that, at the same time, Law was, by discourse and his conduct, doing every thing that lay in his power to destroy the good understanding between the King and the Regent, and between the Regent and the rest of his allies; and I bade the Regent beware how he trusted the reins of his chariot to that Phaeton Law, because he would overturn it. The answer the Regent made me to these representations was, that he knew that vanity and ambition had turned his head; but that he, the Regent, would take care to keep a hand over him, and to contain him within bounds in the management of the finances; that he should have nothing to say in public affairs; that, if he pretended to meddle, the Regent would not listen to him; and that I might be well assured that it should not be in his power to create an ill understanding between him and the King.

I believe nobody can fairly say, that there is any thing in my representations which imported that the King would quarrel with the Regent if he did not lay Law aside. Nor can they say, that there is any thing in the Regent's answer which imports that he took what I said in that sense. On this foot things stood. I spoke very freely to the Regent what I had to say on the subject of Mr. Law; and his Royal Highness received what I said in a very friendly manner.

GEORGE II.  
1720.

When Lord Stanhope arrived, he thought fit to acknowledge Mr. Law as First Minister, and to consider him as a much greater man than ever Cardinal Richelieu or Cardinal Mazarin had been; to tell the Regent that the King was very well satisfied with Mr. Law, and did not, in any manner, complain of him; that what I had said was entirely out of my own head, and without, and even contrary to orders; and that, for so doing, I should be retailed. Since that time, Mr. Law has acted as First Minister, and I have had no intercourse with the Regent but in formal audiences, to deliver such messages as I received from Court, and to receive short and formal answers.

In what manner Mr. Law has acted as First Minister, I may save you the trouble of telling you. You have seen it and felt it.

For me; there was nothing left for me to do, but to desire to be recalled, unless I could have prevailed with myself to have acted the part of a fool, or of a knave, or of both.

What I have said above, I believe, is sufficient to prove, that things were not brought to that extremity that there was a necessity to declare war against France, or to make humble submissions to Mr. Law.

What has happened of late may convince you, I am sure it will the world, that I knew Mr. Law and this Court better than other people do. Neither vanity nor resentment prompts me to say this.

As to the charge you bring against me, that I have exclaimed against the Ministers personally, and against their measures; it does not lie against me. I have behaved myself with great modesty and moderation on this side. I have never spoken of Lord Stanhope but with respect and esteem. I have writ upon that subject to yourself with great freedom, and to no other man living, my uncle Sir David excepted, to whom I endeavoured to clear myself of the heavy charge you brought against me. I shall not compare my behaviour with that of other people's. I know how I have been represented to my Master and to my country. I propose no other revenge to myself than

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than to shew by my conduct, that they have been unjust to me, and that I deserved fairer usage.

If the charge you mention is laid against our ministry, viz. "That Law is for setting up the Pretender, and they are setting up Mr. Law; that the Regent will play us false; and that I have been ill treated for penetrating these designs; that we are in the hands of France and dare not own it; that he understands himself with Spain, and that we shall be the dupes of this alliance, and of this war!" If this charge is laid against the Ministers, it shall not be laid against them by my words. I shall content myself to shew by my conduct, that no part of that charge lies against me.

Believe me, my dear Craggs, I have no design to enter into any cabals, nor to make any broils in the state. If I endeavour to shew you are wrong, it is with a design that you may get into the right way again as soon as possible, that you may not continue to deceive yourselves. Ask, and take the assistance of people who love the King and his government. You shall always be sure of my little help to support this Ministry. I am not for changes; nor can I be influenced by private resentment, which, I declare to you upon my honour, I am ready to forget, as if I never had any reason to complain. My dear Craggs, take my word for it, Mr. Law's plan is formed to destroy the King and his government, and our nation; and he will certainly bring his Master into it; nor is there any other way to divert him from that design, but by shewing his Master that it is dangerous for him to attack us. There is nothing but an appearance of strength and firmness on our side, or the miscarriage of Law's system on this side, can save us from a war with France; and no personal credit that any body may flatter themselves they have with the Duke of Orleans, will signify any thing to divert it. Your letter about Gibraltar is very well writ, and it was very right to write it; but I will give you my word for it, it will have no manner of weight here if Law's system takes place. If they can bully the Ministry,



GEORGE I. nistry, or buy a party in England, we must part with Gibraltar  
 1720. and when we have parted with it, we shall be every way as little secure of peace as we are at present; and upon many accounts, less able to support a war.

Now, when I have told you all these dismal things, I must tell you something to comfort you: The rage of the people is so violent, and so universal against Law, that I think it is above twenty to one, that, in the course of one month, he will be pulled to pieces; or that his master will deliver him up to the rage of the people. You may depend upon it, that he is mightily shaken in his Master's good opinion, who, within these few days last past, has used him most cruelly to his face, and called him all the names than can be thought of, "Knave and madman," &c. He told him, he did not know what hindered him to send him to the Bastile; and that there never was any one sent thither deserved it half so well. This scene happened in presence of Le Blanc. The Duke of Orleans was upon the close stool when Law came in. The Duke was in such a passion, that he run to Law with his breeches about his heels, and made him the compliment above mentioned. To make matters better, Law's head is so heated, that he does not sleep at nights; and he has formal fits of phrenzy. He gets out of bed almost every night, and runs, stark staring mad, about the room making a terrible noise, sometimes singing and dancing, at other times swearing, staring and stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard was the first that came, who found Law in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room and was dancing round them, quite out of his wits. This scene the officer of the guard told Le Blanc, from whom it came to me by a very sure conveyance. Le Blanc is in despair about the state of Law's health; and the discredit in which he stands with the Regent. At the same time, there is  
 a most

a most formidable party formed against him, and almost every one who held their tongues out of fear, now take courage to speak to the Regent upon his chapter; so that they believe the Regent is only withheld by shame from sacrificing him to the resentment of the nation.

Law, on the other hand, says, that if they will give him but a little time, he will set every thing to rights; that he will raise the credit of the stocks; turn the course of the exchange; sink the stocks in England; and put every thing in that country into such disorder, that it shall plainly appear, that he can do every thing in that country he pleases. In order to that, he has prevailed with Croisset André, and several other people, who had very great sums in our stocks, to withdraw their money, and to remit the greatest part of it back into France; with the rest, he proposes to turn the course of the exchange, and to carry on his other designs. He proposes further, in order to alter the course of the exchange, to lower the value of the species in France, till the crown is brought down by degrees to three livres; and this *arret* is to come out in a few days.

I have tired you with a good deal of stuff; it may be of use for you to know it. You will take it, I hope, as I mean it, honestly and kindly to you.

Paris, March 27th, 1720.

ON Tuesday Lord Stanhope arrived in the afternoon. I gave his Lordship all the lights I was master of, as to the situation of affairs at this Court. He saw the Regent to-day, and spoke to his Royal Highness, with that plainness and firmness that became the King's Minister. His Majesty has very good reason to be pleased with Lord Stanhope's conduct, and the good success of it. Lord Stanhope gives a circumstantial account by this courier, of what passed in his audience.

The

GEORGE I.

1710.

The foot things are put upon will give great credit to the King's affairs both abroad and at home; and our having a Minister at Madrid will secure us against indirect practices at that Court, which it is plain our enemies have been carrying on there, and which have certainly given occasion to the odd appearances we have seen of late, in the peremptory demand of Gibraltar. But the Court of Spain has acted with more wisdom and prudence than was expected from them; and we have happened to get assistance from a quarter whence we had little reason to expect any. This riddle I shall explain to you one day or other when we meet.

I am very glad the King has pitched upon so good a man as Sir Robert Sutton for this station. I shall certainly give him all the lights and helps I possibly can; but I believe this Court will be very desirous to have my stay here as short as it is possible. I shall be very well pleased to be in friendship with Lord Stanhope, no body has a greater value and esteem for him than I have. Besides, I have no notion of being hindered by any private resentment from doing my country all the service I am able.

There is one thing will deserve your notice; and that is, Mr. Law designs to employ the gold, of which there is at present a very great quantity in the bank at Paris, to buy up as much silver as he possibly can. You have no way to parry that, but to bring your guineas to twenty shillings. In that case, if Mr. Law will buy our silver, he will buy it very dear. Another thing you may do, is to send gold to buy silver at Hamburgh, Lubeck, and in all the lower and higher Saxony, where silver is more plenty than gold.

Paris, April 30th, 1733.

GEORGE I.  
1730.

I THANK you for your private letter of the 14th by La Croix.

It is with great satisfaction I hear Lord Stanhope acts a friendly part towards me. You may be sure there does not remain in my mind the least rancour of any kind towards his Lordship.

I am glad you do not apprehend that Mr. Law is in a condition to do us any great hurt, by what he gets by the rise of our S. S. stock. Though I know that Law will brag, yet I own to you, I did apprehend that he had gained considerably, and that he might be able to do us a good deal of mischief, by withdrawing a very great sum himself, and by tempting other foreigners to follow his example. I suppose you know that the great sums Mr. Law pretends to have in our stocks were bought in Holland.

It seems to me to be a very dangerous thing in such a country as ours, where things are so very uncertain and fluctuating, to have foreigners masters of such vast sums of money, as they must needs have at present, by the rise of our stocks. That is a terrible handle to hurt us by, in the hands of such a man as Law. I wish our monied men may be attentive enough to the security of the nation in this point; and that they may not let themselves be blinded by the flattering appearances of present gain.

I am very glad to see you think so sanguinely as to the payment of our national debts. It will be very important to give the world such to impressions at this critical time, when there is so much pains taken to give quite contrary impressions of our situation. By several letters I have seen from very understanding men in Holland, I should be afraid that such impressions might prevail there and at Geneva; which would be very hurtful to us; for both the Dutch and the Genevese have very great sums in our stocks.

I am afraid we have not money enough, either in coin or in paper, to move so vast a mass as our South Sea Company now comes to be. The national bank would have been a very great help. I must own

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I appre-

GEORGE I. I apprehend, that, if that matter is not settled at this time, you  
 1720. will meet with great opposition at any other time by the South Sea Company, which, from this time forward, we are to look upon as a very powerful body.

I am afraid our people in England think too neglectfully of Mr. Law's schemes. I own to you, that, as this kingdom is disposed, there is a great odds to be laid, that it will miscarry; but it is not impossible, far from it, that it may hold long enough to do us a good deal of mischief. Another thing I dare be bold to say, it cannot succeed without undoing us; and if Mr. Law can compass our ruin, I think he is in a fair way to carry through his project in France. I know Mr. Law himself thinks so too, and, that being the case, we may be very sure he will do us all the mischief in his power. You cannot think that power is small, considering the absolute authority he has acquired over the Regent. That being so, I am sure you will agree with me that we cannot be too attentive to discover, prevent, and defeat the designs he may form against us. His designs are no trifling ones; they strike at the root. As to the behaviour of this Court towards ours, it will depend entirely upon what happens in Sicily, and upon the King of Spain's disposition towards the Regent, which is naturally bad, and which, I have reason to think, will not be made better by the advice he receives from France. As to our friend the new Archbishop \*, he will do Law all the hurt he can; because he is firmly persuaded that Law is determined to turn him out. The truth of the matter is, that Law does both hate and despise him exceedingly; and it is no less true, that the Abbé has but very little credit at present with his master; though his master affects to say the contrary. The Abbé, with all the desire he has to flatter himself, sees through the disguise.

As to the dispositions of other Courts towards this Court, if one may judge of the Masters by the Ministers, it is in nature impossible

\* Of Cambray.

that it should be worse than it is. I may say, without any one exception, there is not one Minister that believes one single word that is said to him. You may easily imagine how disagreeable my situation must be in this country, and of how little use I can be to the public. For the love of God, send Sir Robert Sutton over.

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I must finish my letter with a complaint. You know I had the King's promise, of as old standing as since you was secretary at war, that I should have an Ensigncy of the Guards, and a Cornetcy of Dragoons, for two of my nephews; which promise has never been made good. There has just now happened a vacancy of a Cornet in my own regiment. I recommended one of my nephews to fill it, and I am told it is already filled up. This seems hard in my own regiment, and the more so, that I have not had the credit to make one officer since the King's accession to the Crown, not in my own regiment.

My dear Craggs,

Paris, June 2d, 1720.

I HAVE too good an opinion of you, not to be persuaded that you think you have some very good reasons to act towards me as you have done of late, since Lord Stanhope's last return from Paris. I have examined myself with great attention, and upon my word and honour I can find no reason for your coldness in my own behaviour, neither as a friend, nor as a man engaged in the service of the same Master, and in the same interest. When Lord Stanhope came last into France, his Lordship and I seemed to be entirely of one mind; he seemed to be perfectly well satisfied with me; he told me so, in a very handsome and obliging manner; at parting I told him with great truth, that any reason I had to complain of him was as much forgotten on my part, as if no such occasion had ever happened. Since that time, I do not know that I have given either you or him any offence; I am sure I did not intend to give either of you any. I have

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that

GEORGE I.  
1720.

but one face to my friends; and but one way of speaking to them, and of them.

It lay upon my heart to tell you what I have said. I should be very sorry to have reason to complain of you; but in the manner we have lived together, I should yet be forrier to give you just ground to complain of me.

Since I wrote what is above, a servant of mine is arrived from England, who brings me the news that my uncle Sir David is turned out. I should be very sorry to have contributed any thing to his disgrace; but whatever usage he or I may meet with from the Ministers, I am sure nothing can change our zeal and affection to the King's service.

Paris, June 12th, 1720.

I AM very much obliged to you for procuring the order for my plate; and shall be so much the more obliged to you for procuring the orders, and advancing the payment of what is due to me upon my appointments and extraordinaries, that, I believe, I shall be able to save but little of what I imagined once I had in this country.

I see plainly I shall not be able to see the King in England. It is a great while ago since Mr. Law told his friends here, that I should not be allowed to have the honour of seeing the King. It is pretty hard to digest I own, if, after serving the King very faithfully, very zealously, and with some success, I should have the mortification not so much as to have my Master's good countenance. However that happens to be, I am very glad his Majesty's affairs go so very well, and that there is so good an understanding amongst them that serve him.

I shall be able to tell you a good many curious particulars concerning the state of affairs here, which are not so very proper to be put into a letter. Mr. Law still brags that he will make our stocks tumble,



tumble, by withdrawing the French effects. He seems more bent than ever to do us mischief, believing it the only way he has left to save himself and his system. How far he may be able to draw his Master into his notions, God knows. His Master professes the best intentions imaginable. In the mean time they go on with the new levies with all the application imaginable; and I am assured they are giving out commissions for levying some more German regiments in Alsace. All over France they talk of a war with Britain, and the Jacobites are in greater numbers at Paris, and more insolent. They talk of great changes at this Court, and that the Archbishop of Cambray is to be sent to his diocese. Law's friends give out, that he has more credit than ever at the Palais royal. That may be; but I dare swear he has lost a great part of his Master's good opinion; though, at the same time, he is very unwilling to renounce the fine views Law had given him. I think we have nothing to fear from France at present but by surprize; but, in my opinion, it will behove us to be very attentive against something of that kind. It is plain, the Jacobites have their heads filled with some such notion.

As soon as Sir Robert \* arrives, I shall certainly set out and leave some friends to take the best care they can of my effects †.

\* Sutton.

† On account of these disputes with Mr. Law, and the differences in opinion with the Ministers at home, Lord Stair seemed to come back in a sort of disgrace, and was not employed, either in the civil or military line, till 1742, when he was appointed to the com-

mand of the troops in Flanders, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the States-General. He was General under the late King at the battle of Dettingen; and died soon after the rebellion, commander in chief of the forces in England.

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No. X.

*Sequel to Lord Stair's Embassy.*

From the Paper-office.

[Mr. Craufurd was of a very good family in the county of Renfrew, which his nephew now represents in Parliament. He was many years Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, where he died about the year 1725. The late General Craufurd was his younger brother. Several of this gentleman's dispatches are preserved in the Paper-office; and they contain many amusing anecdotes of the French court. He was very intimate with Mr. Law, and writes more advantageously of him, than his principal Lord Stair.]

*From Mr. Craufurd to the Honourable Mr. Secretary Walpole\*.*

Sir,

Paris, August the 11th, 1723. N. S.

I TAKE the opportunity of the bearer of this letter, Mr. Hay, Cousin German to the Marquis of Tweedale, who sets out post at ten o'clock this morning, and will, in all probability, arrive before the letters by the mail, or even the messenger, which Sir Luke Schaub cannot dispatch till night, to acquaint you with the death of the Cardinal †, first minister, which happened yesterday between five and six in the evening; and of his being succeeded in the department of the foreign affairs by M. de Morville; who was sent immediately to take possession of the papers, relative to that department, and will certainly be declared this day Secretary of State for the foreign affairs.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans is to have a patent himself, giving him the power and authority of first minister; in order

\* Sir Robert Walpole acted as Secretary of State, whilst the King was at Hanover.

† Du Bois.

to hinder others from doing business with the King directly, by virtue of their offices, without his permission; which is putting things in the most favourable situation they can be in, after the Cardinal's death, towards continuing the good intelligence and friendship happily established between Great Britain and France.

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Sir Luke Schaub will write to you particularly about that matter, having authority to talk to his Royal Highness upon it, which I had not, having never been presented to him nor to his Most Christian Majesty, as the King's minister here, because of this court's refusing to accept one, with the character of resident in the manner they used formerly; which, according to my instructions, I cannot depart from, and so, by orders from Lord Carteret, have delayed hitherto presenting my credentials; having only given copies of them to the Cardinal.

The inclosed duplicate of my letter to my Lord Carteret, of Monday last, will shew you the first alarm we had of the Cardinal's extreme illness.

He was on Monday morning, at six o'clock, carried from Meudon to Versailles; but had not resolved to undergo the operation, though the day before, the King and the Duke of Orleans had ordered the surgeons to attend him for that purpose. He seemed rather inclined to wait death, in the situation he was in, than suffer the pain of being cut; having, before he went away, confessed himself: but the Duke of Orleans being requested by Shirach the famous physician, to interpose his authority in a friendly manner in that matter, his Royal Highness went himself to Versailles, on Monday at four o'clock in the afternoon, and had the thing done.

The Cardinal suffered a great deal in the operation, which lasted five minutes, and cried out so much, that the surgeons looked upon it as a good mark, that things were yet entire, and every body seemed satisfied; even the court itself was firmly persuaded, on Monday night, and yesterday morning, there was more than a probability of the

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the Cardinal's entire recovery; because the surgeons report was, that they had got at the mouth of the ulcer, which was in the mouth of the bladder, and found that it was very accessible, being only in the outward parts; but it seems they were mistaken, for the gangrene had got into those parts before they had put their hands to it, and manifested itself yesterday about noon, by the Cardinal's losing all his senses, and by other marks of approaching death, several hours before the usual time of taking off the first dressing.

His eminence had no great order in private affairs, nor even in the conduct of the great detail of public business, that he took upon him; so that there is a good deal of confusion in his family, and among his clerks in their different offices; none of them, except those for the foreign affairs, have hitherto been put upon any establishment, nor, as I am informed, have ever done any thing, but prepared things, though they have had offices these twelve months past.

He could never bring himself to distribute his time of doing business, into appropriated hours and days, for the different affairs of which he undertook the detail; and so, seldom had time to finish any thing, but what was immediately pressing, and remained almost in a continual hurry, by the great multiplicity of affairs that necessarily crowded upon him, in such a country as this; while he let every body know, it was to him alone they must address themselves, if they expected to succeed in any demand they had to make.

M. de Morville is a man who has not been hitherto very much in business, but has been always regular in the execution of that which has been committed to him, and has a very good reputation in this country.

By what I have been able to judge of him, since I have had the honour to know him, I think there is good ground to believe, that he is heartily inclined to continue the measures that have been taken, towards establishing the peace of Europe, and in a particular manner,

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ner, well disposed to support the good understanding, that is between the King our master and the Duke of Orleans. GEORGE I.  
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I have made my letter, I am afraid, too long, and so beg leave only to add, that I am with the greatest respect.

*From Mr. Craufurd to Lord Carteret, Secretary of State.*

My Lord, à Paris, ce 6 Xbre, 1723.

JE m' imagine, qu'il me sera bien difficile de mander à Votre Excellence, quelque chose sur le grand événement qui vient d'arriver, qui merite son attention, & qui ne se trouvera pas dans les depeches de M. le Chevalier Schaub et de M. Walpole; cependant comme j'ai vos ordres precis de vous écrire par les couriers, toutes les fois que j'ai quelque chose à dire, je risquerai à cette occasion de mander à votre Excellence quelques faits, comme ils m'ont été contés par des personnes que je crois dignes de foy.

Premierment, par rapport aux circonstances de la mort de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, lesquelles apparament ces Messieurs ont trouvés trop frivoles pour leur depeches, j'aurai l'honneur de vous les reciter comme elles m'ont été contés par la pauvre Madame de Fallary \*, qui se trouva malheureusement avec lui quand le coup l'a frappé.

Elle m'a dit, qu'elle étoit venue ce soir là chez son A. R. pour lui présenter un Memoire, de la part de la Duchesse de la Meilleray son amie, à elle; que le valet de chambre lui dit que son A. R. se trouvoit incommodé, & lui avoit defendu de laisser entrer personne, qu'il vouloit reposer le reste de la soirée, jusqu'à l'heure de monter chez le Roy, parce qu'il venoit d'être fatigué par beaucoup de monde. M. Schaub y avoit été entre autres; mais ce qui l'avoit fatigué

\* Maitresse du Duc d'Orleans.

GEORGE I. le plus, étoit une Brigue pour la charge de premier écuyer entre M.  
 1723. le Duc de Saint Simon, and M. de Nangis, qui étoient venus tous deux.

Avec cette reponse, Madame de Fallary se retira chez Madame la Princesse de Rohan, ayant apries en outre que \* Madame de Prie avoit été renvoyée de la meme sorte.

Quelque tems apres qu'elle fut chez Madame de Rohan, le Valet de Chambre la vient trouver, & lui dit, que son A. R. ayant demandé quel monde étoit venu pour demander audience, il l'avoit nommée entre autres, sur quoi son A. R. lui avoit donné ordre de l'aller trouver chez Madame de Rohan, & de la faire venir, ajoutant (suivant sa bonté pour elle,) qu'il sçavoit qu'elle ne le tracasseroit point, et que peutetre elle auroit quelque chose de pressée à lui dire.

Elle m'a dit qu' aussitôt qu'elle entra dans le cabinet, où étoit Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, elle s'aperçut qu'il ne se portoit pas bien. Il lui demanda d'abord si elle avoit quelque chose de pressée à lui dire, et la pria de s'asseoir et de le tenir compagnie. Elle repondit, qu'elle n'étoit pas contente de sa mine, et le pria de se reposer; qu'elle n'avoit rien de pressé à lui dire; et quand elle en auroit, qu'elle n'étoit pas assez cruelle pour lui parler d'affaire de soir la. Il voulut sçavoir ce qu'elle avoit à dire; alors elle repondit, que c'étoit un Memoire; sur quoy son A. R. reprique, que pour lire un Memoire ce soir la ce seroit trop fort pour lui, mais la pria de dire de quoy il s'agissoit; elle le lui dit, et il repondit qu'il le feroit avec plaisir, et s'affoupi en parlant, et commenca à ronfler, comme elle l'a veu faire là, ce qu'elle m'a dit, cent fois en pareilles occasions. Elle se mit dans un fauteuil aupres de lui, et vouloit favoriser son sommeil, mais il se reveilla d'abord en sursaut, sur quoy elle dit qu'elle vouloit se retirer, et dire à ses gens de le venir veiller. Il ne vouloit point qu'elle s'en alla, & lui demandoit pardon de s'être laissé assoupir; elle repondit que s'il faisoit de telles façons avec elle, qu'elle ne resteroit pas, mais

\* La bonne Amie du Duc de Bourbon.

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que s'il vouloit se reposer, elle se mettroit aupres de lui & tacheroit aussi de dormir. Il s'assoupit encore, comme elle disoit cela, et recommença à ronfler comme auparavant, mais avec plus d'embarras, à ce que lui parut; elle voulut alors s'en aller doucement, et avertir les valets de chambre de le venir veiller; mais regardant son visage comme elle partoît, elle vit que ses yeux étoient ouverts, et que sa bouche commençoit à tourner de travers, & que son visage changeoit de couleur et devenoit d'une couleur livide; sur quoy elle sortit de la chambre par où étoient les valets, et leva les hauts cris. Elle ne trouva personne d'abord, & courant en distraction par tout, ne sachant où elle alloit, & ayant trouvé à la fin quelqu'un, elle rentra dans la chambre, où étoit déjà accouru du monde, qui, sur les cris, étoit entré de l'autre côté de l'appartement. Elle le trouva glissé de son siege sur le plancher, la tête seulement appuyée sur un de coins. Chirac y étoit, mais on ne trouva aucune chirurgien, qu'un quart d'heure après; on le saigna, et le sang vint assez bien, mais il ne vecut qu'environ une demy heure après l'accès. Dans ce tems là tout le chateau fut averti de son état, et des qu'il expira M. le Duc qui se trouvoit à Versailles, monta chez le Roy, et demanda la charge de Premier Ministre.

Sa Majesté T. Chretienne repondit rien, mais le precepteur Frejus, qui s'y trouva, lui dit, qu'il repondit à sa Majesté de M. le Duc, que personne dans le royaume ne lui étoit plus attachée, & qu'il seroit pour les interets de sa Majesté de le faire son Premier Ministre, ajoutant que M. de la Vrilliere étoit dans l'antichambre, et que si elle vouloit, il le feroit entrer pour recevoir ses ordres d'expedier la patente. Sur quoy le Roy T. C. dit, *Ouy*; & M. de la Vrilliere \* fut appelé, et M. le Duc lui dit que le Roy l'ordonnoit d'expedier une patente pour lui, comme Premier Ministre. Cela fut bientôt fait; et sans délai, M. le Duc fit apporter le fauteuil de ceremonie du Roy, où sa Majesté T. C. monta, et receut les sermens de son Altesse, comme il est d'usage.

\* Apres, Comte de St. Florentin.



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M. de Chartres qui receut la nouvelle que son pere étoit mal, à l'opera de Paris, arriva quelque tems après, & ayant appris ce qui s'étoit passé, vint se jeter aux pieds du Roy, ou ayant fondu en larmes, il dit seulement qu'il étoit trop frappé de douleur pour pouvoir parler à sa Majesté, & le Roy l'ayant levé, il se retira sans dire d'avantage.

Le lendemain matin, toute la France vint faire sa cour à M. le Duc. M. Walpole & moi entre autres eumes l'honneur de lui être présentés par M. de Morville; à laquelle occasion, il nous donna les assurances les plus fortes, et de la maniere la plus gracieuse, qu'il continueroit à suivre les memes errements par rapport au Roy notre maitre que M. le Duc d'Orleans et lui avoient suivis jusqu' icy, & qu'il n'avoit rien plus au cœur que de mériter l'amitié du Roy, en persévérant les memes mesures qui avoient si heureusement établi l'union et la harmonie entre les deux couronnes.

Le meme soir de Vendredi M. le Duc fit entrer M. le Marechal de Villars dans le conseil d'état, suivant ce qui avoit été concerté entre lui et M. de Frejus.

Le Marechal a dit aujourd'uy, en présence d'un Seigneur qui me l'a dit, que lui ne s'y attendoit point, mais que M. le Duc étoit venu à lui, et le prenant par la main lui avoit dit, qu'il ne seroit pas digne de son estime, s'il différoit un moment à le faire entrer dans le conseil du Roy. Que voulez vous, dit le Marechal, que je fisse? Cette galconade fit sourire la personne à qui il parloit, et le Marechal en fut quitte à ce prix.

M. le Duc proposa aussi au Marechal de Tessé d'y entrer, mais il s'en excusa, disant, qu'il avoit déjà pris le parti de se retirer du monde, et qu'il lui convenoit de tout façon de le soutenir.

Tout ceci fait beaucoup de mauvais sang à la cour parmi les Princes et d'autres Seigneurs qui se croient avoir droit d'être du conseil, aussi bien que M. de Villars; et outre cela, M. le Duc a sur le bras

beaucoup

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beaucoup de brigues de gens de consideration, pour des emplois et choses vacantes, qui ont été laissées indecises par M. le Duc d'Orleans, lesquels gens il souhaiteroit de contenter tous dans le commencement de son ministere, ce qui est pourtant impossible. Cela, joint aux pretensions de M. de Chartres, rend sa situation tres embarrassante, n'ayant quasi personne de bon conseil aupres de lui. Mais de quelque façon que les choses se tournent, il me paroît clair que toutes les parties rechercheront l'amitié du Roy notre maitre.

J'ay parlé avec plusieurs personnes de distinction qui ont d'abord tombés d'accord, qu'il convenoit indubitablement à quiconque gagneroit le dessus, de s'appuyer par l'amitié du Roy notre maitre. M. le Duc, à ce qui m'a été rapporté par ses amis les plus intimes, est tres fort dans ce sentiment, & il n'est pas à douter que M. de Chartres ne seroit de même, s'il avoit l'autorité, ou s'il vient de l'avoir; et ses oncles memes y donneroient sans doute, car ils ne scauroient jamais esperer de la succession Espagnole, un avantage pareil à celui d'avoir leur neveu le maitre, lequel a combattu pour eux dans toutes les occasions même contre son pere.

Les Paris auront grand part dans l'administration des finances; mais comme ils ont une assez mauvaise reputation dans le public, son choix d'eux pourra donner prise contre lui, & l'obliger de les abandonner; ce que pourtant je ne souhaiterois pas, car tant qu'ils sont en place, ils tiendront éloigné M. le Blanc, dont certainement les principes ne sont pas bons par rapport à la tranquillité de l'Europe & particulièrement par rapport à la notre.

M. de Morville, à ce que j'ai ouy dire aux intimes de M. le Duc, est à present fort bien avec lui; mais si une certaine froideur qui a été depuis quelque tems entre Madame la Duchesse & M. le Duc son fils se raccommode, (comme il y a de l'apparence) on m'a averti, que nous devons etre en garde contre le rappel de M. de Torey aux affaires; c'est à quoy il convient aux ministres du

Roy

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1723.

Roy d'avoir grande attention, et même d'en parler fortement à M. le Duc, en cas que le bruit s'en repand.

Le rappel de M. le Marechal de Villeroy etoit arreté par M. le Duc d'Orleans avant sa mort, et le courier devoit etre depeché à Lyon pour le faire venir, le lendemain de cet evenement; je crois même que le courier a été déjà depeché par M. le Duc hier ou avant hier.

J'apprehende que ma lettre ne soit déjà trop longue, et peutetre trop hardie, mais je repons de la verité des faits qu'y sont recitez, et j'espere que votre Excellence me pardonnera les raisonnemens qui suivant mes lumieres me paroissent assez naturels.

Depuis la mort de M. le Duc d'Orleans, le mariage de M. le Comte de Toulouse avec Madame de Gondrin a été déclaré, ce qui est un grand revers pour les enfans de M. du Maine, et fait grand mecontentement dans cette famille, & dans celle de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans.

J'avois presque oublié d'ajouter deux choses considerables, l'une que M. le President de Novion a la charge de Premier President du Parlement de Paris; et l'autre, que M. le Duc d'Orleans a laissé dans le coffres du Roi T. C. au dela de soixante millions de la monnoye de ce pais ci.

Cette grand somme en caisse fait faire des raisonnemens dans le public sur se qui pouvoit etre le dessein de M. le Duc d'Orleans en faissant une si forte provision d'argent; ses amis disent que c'etoit pour se mettre en etat d'excuter un projet de finances qu'il avoit; d'autres raisonnent differemment; le fait de l'argent est certainement vray, et tres commode pour M. le Duc.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre, avec grand respect, &c.

## No. XI.

*Miscellaneous Article.*

From the Paper-office.

[Mr. Robinson (afterwards Lord Grantham) was Secretary to Mr. Walpole, Ambassador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both, and the Editor with gratitude remembers the friendship and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greatest weight with Cardinal Fleury, till Monsieur Chauvelin gained the ascendant over him, and then the former desired to be recalled from his station. His dispatches (were they published) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, industry, and capacity. He was a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country; he was deservedly raised to the Peerage in 1756, and died soon after.

It was the fashion of the opposition of that time, to say, that he was the dupe of Cardinal Fleury;—his correspondence would shew that no man was ever less so. He negotiated with firmness and address; and, with the love of peace, which was the system of his brother Sir Robert, he never lost sight of that great object, keeping up the sources of national strength and wealth. One of the most cordial leave-takings, which any public minister ever had, was that which he exchanged with the States General in 1739, on presenting his letters of recall.]

*Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye.*

Fontainebleau, September the 7th, 1725. N. S.

AS this place is at present more the scene of diversion than business, his Excellency, who has not written this week to Hanover, will have nothing to trouble his Grace with by this post.

The

GEORGE I.

1725

The Queen arrived here on Wednesday morning about eight of the clock, and being retired into her apartments, remained there till one, reposing, and preparing herself for the new fatigues of the day. The music and heralds-at-arms began the procession, from the King's apartment, through Francis the First's gallery, to the chapel. These were followed by the Knights of the Holy Ghost, not in the habits of the order, though drest, old as well as young, in the utmost magnificence. The Prince of Conti, and the Counts Charolois and Clermont immediately preceded the King; the Duke of Orleans and Mr. Le Duc being employed in supporting the Queen. His most Christian Majesty, drest in a brocade d'or, embroidered in every part with gold, with a short golden robe of the order, closed this first part of the *spectacle*: his star, his Holy Ghost, and the buttons of his coat, were all of diamonds; and what exceeded all this lesser magnificence, was Pitt's single diamond, stuck, instead of a button, in his hat.

The Queen advanced slowly under the load of her garments. Her train, that was supported by Madame la Duchesse, and other Princesses, swept half the gallery. Her crown was very small, and seemed to incommode her more by being ill set on, than by its weight. She was followed by the Duchess of Orleans, and the Princesses Dowagers of Conti; and the Dames de Palais closed the march.

The Queen finding herself sick at chapel, gave her new subjects the opportunity of shewing their early zeal by an expeditious demolition of all the windows. Cardinal de Rohan performed the service, as he had done before at Strasbourg, accompanied with an exhortatory harangue to their Most Christian Majesties. The royal couple dined afterwards in public, where the Princesses of the Blood were admitted to table. The evening's entertainment was a comedy and a fine firework, which last is said to have cost 140,000 livres; the jumps, that were placed in rows, distributed through the parterres of

of the garden, amounted to 62,000, at a livre each. Their Majesties supped in public, as they had dined; and about one o'clock in the morning the young bridegroom retired to the mysterious part of the ceremony.

GEORGE I.

1725.

There was not any visible morning at court. On Thursday, about one o'clock, their Most Christian Majesties returned to chapel, dined by themselves in ceremony, the evening concluding with a *promenade* in the Park, the Queen in a phaeton, the King and all the gentlemen on horseback; and the night ended with a concert of music and a public apartment.

To-day the King and all the court hunt the boar; the beginning of next week will be employed in receiving the public compliments; and the short mourning that is to follow for the young Duke D'Aoste will bring things back again to their usual channel.

His Excellency orders me to make you his compliments, and I have nothing to add, but to desire you will do me the justice to believe me with the greatest truth and respect,

Your's, &c.

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*From the Same to the Same.*

Fountainbleau, Sept. 16, 1725, N. S.

I HAVE nothing particular to trouble you with since my last, his Excellency having been pleased to send Lord Townshend, of which his Grace has copies, full accounts of the audience of the foreign ministers, and of what passed, or rather did not pass, upon that occasion. His most Christian Majesty was going to hunt; the Ambassadors and other Ministers being introduced to his bed-chamber, formed two lines, through which his Majesty passed into another room. They had the honour to see the French King: the French King passed by them, and thus ended the first audience.

VOL. II.

4 M

GEORGE I.

1725.

audience. In that of the Queen, the Ministers all crowded together in a little chamber very much crowded already, and being named and presented as each could make up, were at last, when all drawn together, found in a demi-circle, the Queen standing between the two extremities. The Queen saw the Ministers, the Ministers had the honour to see her Majesty; she curtsied; they bowed; and here ended the second audience. An arch Italian proposed printing the speeches, but methinks these dumb compliments procured them more honour than Messire Portail, first President of the Parliament of Paris, got by all his eloquence; he told the King that the Infanta, who was sent back to Spain, was so precious and dear to the Parliament, that there was not one of that august company that would not have spared as many of his own years as were wanting to complete her age. The King continues his hunting in the forest, whither he is returned, and the Queen has mitigated his absence with wholesome and repeated acts of devotion. She makes no more of a dozen masses in a morning, than Hotspur did of as many Lowland Scotchmen for his breakfast. Besides which she frequently retires into her *oratoire*, and leaves the middle of a party of quadrille, to throw off a short ejaculation in the next room, with as much ease as other ladies retire upon other occasions. This constant assiduity at prayer, &c. may prove pernicious, if there happens to be more bigotry than true devotion in it. King Stanislaus leaves Wissemburg the 20th, to proceed on his journey to Chambor, which place is preparing for his reception and retirement.

I am, with the truest and most sincere respect,

Your's, &c.



*From the Same to the Same.*

Fountainbleau, October 20th, 1725, N. S.

THE arrival of King Stanislaus at Beuron, a seat belonging to Mr. Beringhen, about two leagues from hence, has drawn thither all the court daily ever since Tuesday last; and perhaps the absence or occupation of the Ministers, upon that account, was the reason of so long delaying this messenger. The French King, when he went to see his father-in-law, was met by him at the coach door, and conducted to the apartment above stairs, where the French Queen's mother attended to receive his most Christian Majesty. There were four seats placed for their most Christian and Polish Majesties. The first interview continued an hour; the conversation turning *en* upon hunting, and the French King discoursing more than usua<sup>y</sup> with much gaiety and life; but it was observed he did not take great notice, or addressed himself much to the Queen, his mother-in-law. On Wednesday the 17th, King Stanislaus came *incognito* in the dusk of the evening to Fountainbleau, where he was received by the young King with the utmost affection, embraces passing upon embraces at the royal rencontre. The King left Beuron yesterday morning, which was kept a secret from her most Christian Majesty, to spare her the trouble and affliction of parting; but her Majesty is said to have perceived, at leaving him on Thursday night, that she was to see him no more, and expressed her concern in a shower of tears. I am ever, with the truest and most perfect respect,

Your's, &amp;c.

GEORGE I.

1726.

*From Mr. Keen \* to Mr. Robinson.*

Madrid, April the 5th, 1726.

**BY** Gordon I sent you an account of the Duke of Wharton's arrival and reception at Madrid, and likewise of his leaving it; which was, as I imagined, but for few days, though Ripperda would have made a merit of the short absence to Mr. Stanhope. I can now give you, if you think it worth while, the continuation of his story; which is in substance that he has not been sober, or scarce had a pipe out of his mouth since he came back from his expedition to St. Ildefonse.

On Tuesday last, I had some company with me that the Duke of Liria and Wharton wanted to speak with; upon which they came directly into the room. Wharton made his compliments and placed himself by me. I did not think myself obliged to turn out his star and garter; because, as he is an everlasting talker and tippler, in all probability, he would lavish out something that might be of use to know, at least might discover by the warmth of his hopes and expectations, whether any scheme was to be put in immediate execution in favour of his dear master, as he calls the Pretender. He began with telling me, he just then left the Duke de Ripperda, after an audience of an hour and an half and four minutes. The Duke of Ormond was with him; but that circumstance he omitted. I told him, sure it must have been an affair of the greatest importance to his new cause, that could have made Ripperda spare so much of his time, considering the multiplicity of business he is charged with. At which (says he) you will shortly see the event; it is in my power to make your stocks fall as I think fit; my master is now in a post

\* Afterwards Sir Benjamin, whose character wants no panegyric.

chaife,

GEORGE I.  
1726.

chaife, but the place he designs for I shall not tell you. He complained that Mr. Stanhope had prevented his seeing their Catholic Majesties; but I am very sure he has delivered in some propofals in writing, which are not difencouraged; for on the first of May, his P.'s birth day, both he and the Duke of Liria, amongst a thousand other things they let slip, were fond of drinking a perpetual union of the Saints of the day; whom God has joined, let no man separate. The evening he was with me, he declared himself the Pretender's Prime Minister, and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. Hitherto (says he) my master's interest has been managed by the Duchesse of Perth and three or four other old women, who meet under the portal of St. Germain's; he wanted a Whig, and a brisk one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man; you may now look upon me Sir Philip Wharton Knight of the Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole Knight of the Bath, running a course, and by God he shall be hard pressed; he bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his possession; that account is still open; neither he, nor King George shall be six months at ease, as long as I have the honour to serve in the employ I am in. He mentioned mighty things from Moscow; and talked so much nonsense and contradictions, that it was neither worth my while to remember them, or yours to read them. I used him very *cavalierment*; upon which he was affronted; sword and pistol next day; but before I slept a gentleman was sent to desire every thing might be forgot: what a pleasure must it have been to have killed a prime minister?

I must not forget to observe one thing to you, that is, not only he, but several of his party, before he came, whenever the occasion happened, were full of elogiums of my Lord Sunderland, whose death they lament, as a fatal blow to their cause. Upon the whole behaviour of this gentleman, it is easy to observe, that some project in their favour was certainly laid at Vienna; but Ripperda must have found

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th, 1726.  
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GEORGE I. himself not able to sustain it, since he was better informed of the true state of Spain, which must have obliged him to lay it aside till a better opportunity offers.

1726.

Wharton, Liria, and the young Jacks are yet fond of it, and if it depends on them, would now put it in execution; but the graver sort of them are not so confident, nor so much on their mettle. Wharton was telling the Duke of Ormond, that his master did not love fox-hunting, but that he promised to go to Newmarket; to which he answered, he saw no great probability of it on a sudden, but wished the Pretender might take such care of his affairs, that he might be able to keep his word. But I think you will see our new Knight strip himself of his new honours before twelve months are passed, if he be thought worth the receiving.

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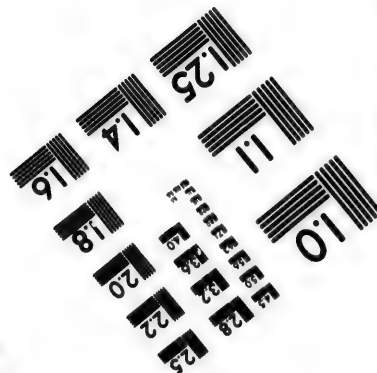
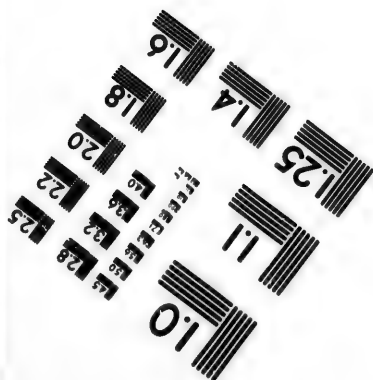
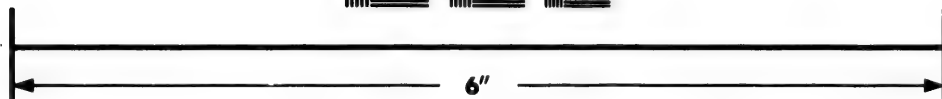
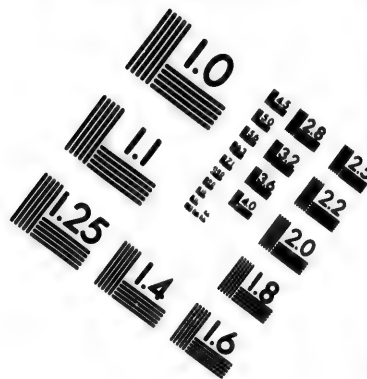
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